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KLEPTOMANIA AND OTHER PSYCHOPATHIC CRIMES

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The title of this paper may inadvertently lead to the erroneous assumption that a sharp line of demarcation may be drawn between the rational and the irrational crime. A rational crime, defined, is one profitable in an objective way and dictated entirely by the mind. An irrational crime, on the other hand, may be considered to be the seemingly inexplicable act of a compulsive sort yielding little objective gain and often so clumsily planned that the perpetrator is easily caught. A distinct borderline between the two does not, of course, exist. Completely rational crimes, it should be emphasized, however, do not exist at all; what appear to be such inevitably have some part of their roots deep down in the unfathomable Id where reason ceases to prevail.

An experience of one of my friends comes to my mind in this connection. Well-to-do, middle-aged, long known to me as honest and dependable, my friend once told me of the following incident. "I had invited a friend for dinner," he related, "and just as we were about to enter a restaurant we both discovered that we had no cash in our pockets—forgotten or something. The guest said that friends of his who would be glad to help us out lived just around the corner. We went, accordingly, to their house and rang the bell but there was no answer. We tried the door, found it open and with little hesitation entered the home of people whom I did not know, whose very name, in fact remains unknown to me to this day. The apartment was empty as a glance in each room revealed and we stood at last in their kitchen faced with the realization that there was nothing else for us to do but leave. My friend, of a sudden, opened the refrigerator door and we saw that it was filled with food, cold chicken and potatoes, dessert and everything else, as in some ancient fairy tale. On the cupboard stood a bottle of whiskey. We both felt as though we were under a magic spell as forthwith we sat down and ate and drank our fill. I cannot remember ever

having enjoyed a meal as much as this. When we had had enough we sneaked out of the house like thieves, which, indeed, we were, and, seated ourselves on a bench in a park nearby. We suddenly began to laugh and we laughed aloud and could not stop our laughter. What we had done seemed to us to be the best joke of our lives. When my wife later heard the tale she advised me not to tell this story to anyone but I cannot follow her advice. There is a kind of compulsion in me to tell the story as often as possible and each time I tell it it delights me anew almost to the point of ecstasy."

Here we have an example of a crime, theft, perhaps even burglary, in which the irrational component far outweighs the rational causation, the appeasing of hunger without pay. After all we are mammals, were suckling infants once, and to steal food reawakens our oldest instincts, instincts that are always present, always at work even though we may not be aware of them in the hustle and bustle of every day. In the brief scene my friend describes the refrigerator from which food had been stolen served to represent the loving mother who once so generously fed her child and long dormant emotions and responses from the dark abyss (*Triebdurchbruch*) had come to the fore.

A recognition of these impulses brings us more closely to our topic, kleptomania. What, we may wonder, do the victims of this strange malady steal? Objects of all sorts, but chiefly money, the symbol of all values. Economists explain the nature of money in different ways. They tell us, for example, that money is work or a matter of confidence in the exchange of commodities, or some similarly erudite explanation. We, however, are more interested in the psychological meaning of money. From this point of view we are enabled to see four entirely different meanings though they may, at times, overlap. Money may mean food, power, love or dirt. This last meaning, strange though it may sound at first hearing, has been ascertained beyond any doubt of psychoanalytic studies.

It is obvious that money is food; food can be bought for money. Little children often steal candy from stores, bigger children steal money in order to buy candy. The Romans used cattle as a medium of exchange and from this money derived its name, *pecunia* (cattle in Latin being *pecus*). Perhaps it would not be too far-fetched to consider that part of gold's magic effect on man lies in its likeness to the color of ripened grain. Those who have seen grain come pouring from great granaries through the sunlight to loading cars have not infrequently commented on its resemblance to liquid gold. Our understanding of

food is incomparably older than that of money in the individual as well as in the history of man: the Id means food when the Ego speaks of money.

Food is associated with love since our first feeding was given us with love and because of love. Proof of this may be seen somewhat cynically, perhaps, in that one can buy love and the wealthier a man is the less amiable may he be but he will receive love all the same. We may prefer to look at the problem from another angle; love is capable of sacrifice; he who loves is ready to sacrifice money since he knows that the beloved will understand and will enjoy it in this sense. The more money one has the easier will such sacrifice be.

Money is also power. In the German language, moreover, (in other languages, too) the words for power, fortune (in the sense of property or wealth) and sexual potency are identical. One and the same word expresses impotency and poverty.

There remains the fourth meaning of money, namely, dirt or rubbish without value. This is frequently expressed in the folklore of many corners of the earth. All that King Midas touched, for example, changed into gold as punishment for his greed. In this way gold became something worse than refuse and in the midst of his wealth King Midas was in danger of starving to death. Psychoanalysis can explain why misers are generally called dirty and why, in fairy tales, gold is so often a gift of the anus. There is the story of the donkey who yielded ducats, the goose who laid golden eggs and similar imagery appears in different guises in many tales. Wise people save money; kleptomaniacs often collect meaningless, sometimes malodorous objects such as dead little animals, bread crusts, corks, withered flowers, and scraps of paper.

Money may be stolen, we understand, by reason of any one or several or all of its four important values. But why is it done impulsively and spasmodically? The answer lies in the fact that the kleptomaniac feels that he cannot get in a normal way what he is impelled to take by stealth. This explanation, however, is less simple a matter than it seems on the surface. The kleptomaniac does not mean to steal the object as described by the economists but money as the symbolic carrier of our four meanings. Psychopathic thieves, liars, beggars, swindlers, imposters have one thing in common, they feel themselves deprived of love and they therefore take in defiance of the law that which, they think, is not available within its bounds. They take love in a shape adequate to their libidinous understanding. On the oral level they steal

food, candy or fruit. On the anal level they steal trashy objects such as those described or trifles in stores where the risk involved is totally out of proportion to the little value of stolen kerchiefs, slips or gloves. On the phallic level the stolen object means the male genital. One must be familiar with the psychoanalytic teachings on libido in order to understand the full meaning of these concepts.

The sense of omnipotence plays an important part in kleptomania. Behind omnipotence and its aggression peers despair, the masochism of the stopped thief. Let us listen to a little shoplifter (the majority of kleptomaniacs seem to be female) who describes her experiences and whose description comes as close to a description of sexual orgasm as any seemingly non-sexual act can. The experience is double: "When I have taken an object in a department store I thrust it in my bosom, under my blouse, hide in the next doorway and wait with my heart beating. When I see that I have not been noticed I feel a wild triumph, a lust the like of which nothing else can offer. If I am caught, oh, when I am caught, the night of deepest despair seizes me—I am literally dying—I wish I were never born. . . ."

Such "patients" come for treatment not because they wish to change but because they have been threatened by the law. Then they are eager to get an attestation that they are ill and asking the judge to postpone prosecution for the sake of treatment. In their predicaments they can describe quite dramatically how badly off they are "imprisoned all night with drunkards, prostitutes and all kinds of bums. . . I, a lady, . . . my family disgraced . . . Save me, doctor, . . . I know you can cure me."

As soon as we have succeeded in persuading the judge of the pathological nature of the situation the patient's demeanor changes: "What, after all, is it that you wish to cure, doctor? I am not sick. I was a thief, I grant you, but I promise that I will never do such a thing again."

Actually, however, our little lady will repeat the performance like a drug addict who cannot abstain from his poison—and for the same reason. There is nothing on earth which equals, for these people, the lust of stealing, nothing which we can offer to these unfortunates as a substitute. To steal is actually the sex life of kleptomaniacs and as a rule they have no other. Real sex life is underdeveloped even where the pretense of a normal one is made. They have never reached the "genital level," to speak in terms of libidotheory.

I saw a particularly lovely girl, 17 years old, whom her mother presented because of repeated acts of theft. She took money from the

pocketbooks of her schoolmates in order to buy flowers and candy for the teacher. On one occasion she tore a dollar bill and threw it away, rationalizing her deed on the grounds that she was afraid people might find her out. In spite of her unusual attraction, of which she pretended to know nothing, she showed no sign of sexual wishes. She looked like a child. Her wish was to become an actress. My first interview with her left me with no hope.

"Don't you wish to be free of your habit?"

"Of course!"

"Isn't it terrible, the way you are ruining your future by these silly acts?"

"It is awful."

She does not mean one word of it and has no wish at all for treatment. Her mother has dragged her to my office. After two visits she fails to come. We will see this girl again after a few years when she will probably be a courtesan. She will find out what powers she exerts over men and how it can be used to bear fruit. She herself will still not be very developed sexually but the more skilled and cynical can she therefore be in operating with men who are attracted by this kind of femininity.

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Kleptomania, like pseudologia and similar compulsions, is not a disease in itself but only a symptom. What is a psychopath? The psychopath is not psychotic and not neurotic either in the strict sense of the word. The psychopath is in a class by himself, close, to be sure, to the hysteric. "A psychopath," it has been said, is a man capable of anything." This most inadequate definition means that the psychopath remains an unpredictable figure. He will do surprising things again and again until finally nothing that he does can surprise the observer any more. His activities cover the entire scope of human behavior from deeds of supreme sacrifice, valor and love of fellowman to acts of indescribable stupidity and crimes whose motives must sometimes remain unclear. In the ordinary course of events we meet the psychopath much more frequently on the paths of crime than on those of constructive endeavor. Often he knows how to ingratiate himself and there is reason to marvel at the imposter not because he cheats but because his cheating is so often successful even with people who know him and should have learned their lesson. This is particularly true of the protagonist of sexual im-

posters, Don Juan, whom women cannot resist even though they know that he will drop them relentlessly in the end. The imposter has a demoniacal and uncannily successful will to please. He wishes to be amiable and he is. It takes quite some time before not only the law but even his private relations reach the end of their patience. One of my patients used to steal fur coats from stores by impudently posing as the Countess Potocka. I asked her husband to be patient with her so that my treatment could be given under favorable conditions. "It is easy for you to talk," said the tormented man, "we have no furniture in our home any longer, no silver, no linen. The creditors have taken all away." The little "countess" tried to make me believe that she had been eager for years to meet me as from her childhood on I had been the object of her admiration. She knew that I was descended from the Bavarian kings, the Wittelsbach, and she could talk of this and more with a honeyed tongue. Just when I hoped that she was somewhat improved, her former cook came to me with a check for two hundred dollars over my forged signature. The cook, who should have known better, had surrendered all her savings to the "countess" against this check. She had given love in the form of money because the "countess" had given her love in the shape of an indescribable, ingratiating warmth which made the poor wretch forget all reality including the experiences of previous frauds.

The psychopath may become a killer because of love. Just as he lies, steals and cheats for love, he occasionally murders his victims. Much is known about murders involving motives with homosexual aspects. We know also of murders where heterosexual love, or what looks like it, is associated with the motives. A few years ago in New York City the upholsterer's apprentice, Fiorenza, strangled the young writer, Nancy T. He had met the woman a day or two before when he called with his master for an armchair to be repaired. When asked for his motive, he said that he had fallen in love with the woman and that for this reason he had to kill her. There was no other course open to him. We abstain here from any psychological theories concerning the lad. He never was analyzed so that we possess no evidence for psychoanalytic statements. Suffice it to say that they kill when they fall in love.⁽¹⁾

From this gruesome example a chief characteristic of the psychopath becomes evident. He confuses opposites which can as well be

(1) See Wittels, "The Criminal Psychopath in the Psychoanalytic System," *Psychoanalytic Review*, 1938, Washington, D. C.

called polarities; love and hate (murder), mine and yours (theft), true and false (lie), reality and imagination (imposter). This series could be prolonged and would end in tangible polarities, I and you, or I and he. The psychopathic killer murders himself in the other person just as the suicide means to kill another person. His thinking is built upon one cardinal mistake, a particular inability to understand vital contrasts.

We have tried elsewhere to prove that this incapacity comes from a biological polarity not definitely settled, the polarity of male and female. All investigators have noticed that the psychopath is vague in the expression of his sex. To him the question of whether he is male or female, masculine or feminine, is not finally solved. In his ambiguity he often impresses the observer as being singularly child-like (Child-woman, Childman). Don Juans are by no means perfect models of men. On the contrary they may be somewhat repugnant to most men and even to many women because of their feminine features and mannerisms, the way they walk, talk and act. In the same way the feminine counterpart of Don Juan, Messalina, shows the beauty of an ephebus and later develops a form of behavior considered unwomanly until fairly recently, aggression, no modesty, lack of fear and an absence of sentimental felings. When the decision regarding male and female has not been definitely made, the other polarities, which are somehow connected with the biological polarity, are not clearly differentiated. The structure of our civilization is oriented on the outcome of this decision and the psychopath who does not understand and therefore does not participate in our civilization to this extent is an outcast, an enemy, public or otherwise, in spite of his amiable and, in a certain sense, harmless appearance.

The next question is how this scintillating bisexuality retained all through life comes to pass. Under normal conditions a child has a clear understanding as to the sex to which it belongs by the age of six at the latest. Children entering grammar school are decidedly boys and girls. We need not point out here how much of this development is biological and how much is due to education. Under unfavorable conditions this development may be retarded or arrested altogether. In the history of the future psychopath we frequently find that there has been loss of one or both of the parents in the most important period of childhood, sometime between the fourth and seventh year. The normal child actually acquires the concepts of masculine and feminine from his parents and ultimately achieves manhood and womanhood by identifica-

tion with father or mother. Where this identification has for some reason failed, there the recognition of the biological polarity is weakened. We are here in the entanglements of the Oedipus complex wherein the normal sequences of development may be altered by the loss of parental figures and in other ways. The child may be deeply hurt, for example, by smothering tenderness or by an unduly strict education.

We are inclined to believe that the greatest damage lies in traumatic experiences those early days. Much, therefore, depends on the observation of boys and girls in that tender age. We know by now that not only do the personality structures of psychopaths have their origin in the Oedipus conflict and its derivatives, but so also do a variety of later neurotics. According to the level on which development may have been damaged, we later find psychotics, obsessionals, psychopaths and hysterics. We speak in psychoanalysis of fixation points in the line of development. In the case of the psychopath the fixation point can be found in the so-called phallic phase, that is, in the beginning of the Oedipus situation and before castration fear leads to the formation of the superego. One thing is clear: the superego of the psychopath cannot be called a normal one. Otherwise he would have a better knowledge of the difference between good and evil, between reality and imagination. He is often a good actor who behaves as though he were aware of it but cannot keep the good resolutions with which he paves his way to hell. In histrionics he equals hysteria, but the hysteric is a good deal more reliable than the completely faithless psychopath, the difference between the two being but a difference in degree.

One example of the psychopath's fixation point and its dynamic function in his behavior is the following: Robert L., is today a jailbird who has repeatedly served terms in penitentiaries. He lost both his parents in early childhood and was raised in the home of an older, unmarried sister who had an illegitimate child of her own. At the age of twelve Robert began to steal from his sister, taking first books which he sold, then a pitcher with glasses and finally three sets of silver knives and forks. His actions, it was apparent, became more and more clumsy, and his thefts were engineered in such a way that his sister had to find out. Incest was latent in the abnormal atmosphere of this home and no model existed to serve as guide for a normal development for Robert. He did not even know who was the father of his illegitimate nephew. His sister, Robert told us, brought him up with love. When she discovered his acts of theft, however, she became infuriated and, angered beyond all bounds, denounced him to the police. He was sentenced to fourteen days in the

workhouse. This was the beginning of an almost uninterrupted criminal career. We may wonder why his own sister and foster mother informed the law about him. Must we not assume that she loved him in her way? Perhaps one unconscious here understood the other. Robert in the shape of his thefts took love, a commodity of which, according to his dim judgment, he did not get enough. His sister understood (but not consciously) that sexual urge had made a thief of Robert, an urge which she, the abandoned, lonesome, illegitimate mother, suppressed in herself with difficulty. Hence the outbreak of hate. It was as though she meant to say, "I haven't done it. You have and you must pay for it—as I pay."

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Neurotics live through in their dreams what the psychopath actually carries out. The latter may also muse and day dream for a long time before he acts, however. Why, then, does the neurotic stop at dreams and manifest general anxiety symptoms while the psychopath proceeds to actual crime? We would be much further advanced in psychology if we could give a definite answer to this question.

About a year ago F. Wertham, the psychiatrist, published a book, *Dark Legend*, in which he tried to explain the psychology of the seventeen year old Gino, an Italian immigrant, who killed his own mother with a kitchen knife. Wertham compared Gino with the matricide Orestes and with Hamlet who showed incestuous love-hate for his mother but did not kill her. Wertham cannot satisfactorily answer the question why Orestes killed but Hamlet didn't. Freud would have said that two thousand years of Christian repression stand between the Greek and the Danish hero. But, as far as the difference between actual and imagined crimes is concerned, Freud does not give us more than the general explanation that this difference comes from the economy of the instincts, the distribution of psychic energy among Ego, Id and Superego.

Many criminologists are of the opinion that something from without has to reinforce a criminal daydream, something real, possibly an unfortunate coincidence. About twenty years ago a sixteen year old baker's apprentice in Vienna killed the housemaid with a hatchet. He slept in the kitchen on the main floor while the windows of both rooms opened on the light shaft. He had hated the girl for a long time because she laughed at him and he had made up his mind to kill her during the night. The deed had to be done before four o'clock in the morning be-

cause the work of baking started at that time. However, he always overslept and could not carry out his design. One night he woke up at three. The moon was high enough to throw some light into the kitchen and shone on the axe leaning against the hearth. This coincidence was the boy's signal. He took the axe, climbed through the window and slew the maid. The judge asked him what he felt when he climbed into the maid's room. "I was very excited," was the reply. "And afterwards?" the judge wanted to know. "Afterwards I felt better." If we did not know that during the intervening time he had committed homicide and knew only that a lad had climbed into a maid's room, we might take the boy's two replies as merely sexual in connotation. To the psychopath, as we have seen before, it is the same to kill or to love.

The explanation based on a coincidental event from without cannot satisfy a psychoanalyst. There must be more than this alone. There must be a definite mechanism slumbering somewhere in the psychopath and not directly connected with the content of the daydream for this daydream alone cannot give rise to the criminal act. We usually find an old, long since repressed wish originating in the eternal Oedipus complex which has been awakened by the so-called coincidental event.* Daydream and forgotten (repressed) wish together unite in the sinister deed. Two examples from literature may serve to illustrate this point.

Clyde Griffith, hero of Theodore Dreiser's *American Tragedy*, kills his sweetheart Roberta because she stands between him and the possibility of his marriage to a wealthy heiress. Roberta has become pregnant from him and the two have tried in vain to bring about an abortion. Clyde has daydreamed of killing Roberta and coincidence from without appears when Clyde reads in a newspaper about a murderer who bought two similar straw hats, drowned his wife in a lake and threw one of the hats in the water in order to let it seem as though both of them, man and woman, had drowned when their canoe capsized. Clyde feels that he can try the same trick.

However, we also learn that many years previously Clyde's older sister had given birth to an illegitimate child, a catastrophe in Clyde's puritanic family. When this happened Clyde was a little boy and he had only dimly understood the event. When Roberta revealed the fact of her pregnancy to him (again without knowing it) he re-experienced his sister's story. An incest phantasy with its hatred and jealousy which had

* The incident—psychoanalysts will realize this—takes on the authority of the superego. Moonlight on the hatchet sent from high up, from God or omnipotence silences the superego within. The deed now not only can—it must be committed.

long since vanished crept again to the surface and enabled him to act. His murder of Roberta is thus a belated act of revenge against his sister, so much older than he, a maternal substitute. Clyde, without knowing it, is entangled in the network of the Oedipus conflict. The psychological structure is most sketchily outlined here but the novel contains much more evidence to support this theory.

Dostoyewsky, the father of modern psychology, described the homicide committed by Rodion Raskolnikoff. The student R. is a day-dreamer, always phantasying about great crimes. He wants to become the Napoleon of crime. Finally he kills an old woman, a pawnbroker, and her young maid as well when she unexpectedly appears upon the scene. Shortly before this act which had been considered for a long time before it was carried out, Raskolnikoff had had an excited argument with his sister's fiance whom he had abused without apparent cause. Raskolnikoff's mother, Pulcheria, had come to town with her engaged daughter and with these two he argued also. The psychoanalyst feels bound to see a causal connection between these three, mother, daughter and son and the other triangle, old pawnbroker, her maid and the student.

The author of the novel who feels his way into the lives of the figures he creates does not necessarily know of such connections nor of the rationale behind the behavior he so fully and so realistically describes. I had a talk with Theodore Dreiser once; he knew nothing about any connection between Clyde's sister, her illegitimate child and Roberta's pregnancy. He was much interested to hear of this but later, I believe, he forgot this communication or considered it irrelevant. It is hardly possible to analyze his work for an author in a single conversation just as it would not be possible to analyze the author himself in the brief space of an hour.

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We are not as yet very efficient in the treatment and "cure" of the criminal psychopath. Regular psychoanalysis can be of some help but rarely because the transference, necessary in this work, is unreliable and desultory with these patients. We could be much further advanced in the area of prophylaxis (prevention), however, and this depends on education, primarily of the pre-school child. The problem centers around the formation of the superego which in the psychopath has not become established in the normal way or at the normal time. Efforts must be

made to show him a superego from without which he will like, and which he can accept and ultimately absorb for himself. What was not accomplished in childhood when the developmental conditions were much more favorable must be brought about in treatment at a much later date—a complex and difficult task which cannot be successful without that almost magic component called love or grace or, more soberly and scientifically, transference.

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SPASTIC COLON AND INSTINCTUAL REPRESSION

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A psychosomatic study of the media of aggression in the human body necessarily involves an approach to the organism as a whole (Goldstein) or the "total person" (in Adolf Meyer's connotation). This comprehensive survey of organic motility pattern among a group of psychopaths, all with the common syndrome of spastic colopathy, attempts to link up particular emotions with bodily reactions of a certain type. It is recognized that, whereas external behaviorisms of the personality may appear as Mannerisms, i. e. "an organic motility syndrome" in Schilder's sense, if this mannerism finds internal expression it is in the form of "organic neurosis," and conditioned by habit.

It is the purpose of this thesis to determine the nature and extent of organic functional involvement in a given case, and the psychological features responsible for the Habit in relation, and attempt to correlate the two. This study is not primarily statistical. It takes a representative sample of a larger population, and assesses and interprets those features in the organic and psychiatric picture common to all; but for purposes of presentation the consolidated position arrived at, is stated separately for the two heads of inquiry, even at the risk of appearing in this way incoordinated.

In appraising the physical aspect, we will in Part I stress the many positive factors which lead to the conclusion that physiological happenings such as *spasticity*, bowel delay, rigidity, autonomic instability and functional stasis (judged by X-Ray) are the representative features in a given case. We will indicate how this conclusion is reached, while ruling out gross pathological causes by appropriate technique. The Psychiatric consideration (Part II) concerns itself with the psychic representation of the same states in terms of *strain*, stress and tensions of a psychological nature and correlates the two aspects accordingly. We take one of the series for more intensive study, but indicate all those features of a subjective nature (in character and constitution, mood and

temperament, etc.) found common to the group. It finally attempts a theory of instinctual processes, back of the spasticity common to the series, and of the presence of masked aggression in particular. The adjudication of relevant factors both physical and mental has been facilitated in this work by various techniques, that receive descriptive reference here.

More specifically the present study is an attempt to arrive at a better understanding of a large group of criminal patients with disturbed instinctual function and with the striking feature in common of obstinate constipation of a certain order. It is recognized that not all inmates necessarily react to the same environmental conditions in the same way, and the possible influences of the internal environment need to be taken into consideration. Thus their mode of living, diet and habits being regulated as features common to all, we searched for some accurate measure of the intermediary factors at work, in this functioning of internal emotional environment and external physical response (gastro-intestinal syndrome). We finally focused attention on the autonomic nervous system and those tests which point to imbalance in its activities. With the object of ruling out organic processes as causative, certain men underwent this battery of tests in addition to a complete anamnesis and routine physical examination, i. e. neurologic and autonomic nervous system study, psychologic and psychiatric examination as well as X-Ray and such laboratory work as was deemed advisable.

PART I. PHYSICAL ASSAY

THE SERIES AS A WHOLE

As special consideration was being given to the radiographic investigation in this series, we shall here emphasize in some detail the general procedure adopted and the specific findings in the series as a whole. It will be noted at once that the dual phenomena, delayed emptying time and signs of abnormal tonicity, characterize the X-Ray shadow. Similar attention was paid to the autonomic nervous system, as here again a sensitive index of hypothalamic and endocrine functioning was considered present. The tests especially selected for our series were the Cold Pressor Test, the Turner Test and the Schneider Test which depend on estimates of changes in pulse and blood pressure under control conditions and undue sensitivity to internal stimuli.

TESTS FOR THE AUTONOMIC NERVOUS SYSTEM IN THE SERIES

It has long been known that individuals with autonomic imbalance manifest lability of heart rate and blood pressure to various internal and external stimuli; thus the Schneider Test, Turner Prolonged Standing Test and the Cold Pressor Test could be used, as stated, as a measure of such vaso-motor irritability.

The Schneider and Turner Tests* are considered good indices of circulatory efficiency, but our series showed definite indication of relative insufficiency due, it was presumed, to their autonomic lability, all physical causation having been ruled out.

Our group gave a lower reading than the control group of Schneider's own series. Thus, in our measurements, the lowest score in the Schneider Test was 2, the highest, 16; average of the group being 8.6. Again, the lowest score on the Turner Test was 3, the highest, 13; average for the group was 8.2. This too is lower than the average for Turner's series. Both these findings are indicative of the direction that changes in our subjects had taken; for the important feature is the wide oscillation of readings, to be found only among those whose circulatory defect represented a temporary accommodation in response to emotional factors and internal stress (whose determinants were known to us), and features of a transient rather than a permanent fixed condition. It is typical of the spastic individual that once having been conditioned to inner dynamic stress, he will become more susceptible to chance clinical and other external stimuli (irritability). The bibliography provided sufficiently indicates the recognition of these dual factors.

Findings in Gastro-Intestinal Roentgen Study

The X-Ray findings left no doubt that spasticity and hypertonus

* The Schneider Test consists of six factors: (1) reclining pulse rate (2) standing pulse rate; (3) increase in pulse rate from reclining to standing; (4) increase in pulse rate following standard exercise; (5) time of return to standing rate; (6) change in systolic pressure from reclining to standing. Each factor is scored on the basis of three being perfect. The added scores for all six factors gives the total score or index, 18 being the maximal.

The Turner Test is of similar nature. This test depends on the alteration of the circulation in quiet standing as compared with reclining. It consists of frequent determination of pulse rate and arterial pressure during a period of reclining, long enough to establish a steady rate, followed by 15 minutes of quiet standing and that in turn by about 8 minutes of reclining as a final control. The same total score as in Schneider Test is used i. e. 18, distributed among 6 factors, each of which might receive a possible score of from plus 3 to minus 3. The heart rate as a whole receives a possible score of 9; pressure readings receive the same scorings. (See Table I for comparative findings in Schneider and Turner Tests).

were the underlying functional concomitants. All the cases in this series showed hypertonicity of the colon, varying in extent and depth of involvement, from accentuation or irregularity of haustral markings to complete disappearance of haustral sacculation throughout the entire extent of the colonic tube. (Fig. 1 shows a 24 hour roentgenogram of the spastic colon typical of the series as a whole).

Total emptying time varied from 72 to 144 hours, the average for the group being 90 hours. It might here be noted that a correlation was established between individual physique and emptying time factors. This relationship is seen in Table II.

Certain anatomic features were noted. Five patients showed a normal stomach of the orthotonic type, four were of the enteroptotic type. One case of cascade stomach was seen, with high fixation of splenic flexure. A second case showed reduplication of splenic flexure. As to gastric emptying time, no delay in evacuation was noted in the series. All were found completely empty at the end of six hours. With the exception of one case in which the caecum was not visualized till the end of 10 hours, all caeca were found filled with barium at the 6 hour period.

TABLE I
Comparison of Findings on Schneider and Turner Tests

SUBJECT	SCHNEIDER INDEX	TURNER INDEX
C. K.	2	3
H. T.	5	7
J. S.	11	7
F. P.	10	7
N. W.	16	13
G. F.	6	6
A. G.	12	13
A. B.	9	8
O. B.	12	11
C. P.	3	7
Average	8.6	8.2

Technique: Each G. I. series was conducted as follows: The subject was given 5 ounces of Barium Sulphate in one pint of buttermilk early in the morning, on an empty stomach. Fluoroscopic study and roentgenograms were taken immediately after the barium meal, at 6 hours, 24 hours and thereafter at 24 hour intervals until the gastrointestinal tract was empty. Where indicated, roentgenograms at 10 hours, 18 hours and 36 hours also were taken.

TABLE II

Relation of Physique Type to Evacuation Time

PHYSIQUE TYPE	NO. OF CASES	TOTAL EMPTYING TIME
Asthenic	1	144 hours
"	1	120 "
"	3	96 "
"	1	72 "
Sthenic	2	72 "
Athletic	2	72 "

Findings in the Cold Pressor Test

The Cold Pressor test consists in measuring the reaction of the blood pressure to a standard cold stimulus. The test was performed in the same way as that of Edgar A. Hines at Mayo Clinic. We utilized it solely for the purpose of determining the autonomic features present.

In subjects with normal blood pressure, the return to basal level is within two minutes. In our series of cases the *time* of return to normal level varied from 4 to 8 minutes, the average for the group being 4.8 minutes. This is definite evidence of autonomic overactivity.

As a measure of *vasoconstrictor* response, both systolic and diastolic pressure were considered in evaluating the results in an individual test. We took an elevation above basal level of more than 20 mm. of Hg. in systolic pressure and of more than 15 mm. of Hg. in diastolic as indicating a hyperreactive response. In accordance with such standards, 8 of our subjects showed a definite hyperreactive vasoconstrictor type of response. (See Table III for our general findings in the Cold Pressor Test).

Technique: With subject supine and the cuff of the sphygmomanometer on one arm, the hand on the opposite side was immersed in ice water (4 degrees C) to a line just above the wrist. With hand still in water, readings were taken at end of 30 seconds and 60 seconds. The highest of the readings was taken as an index of response. The hands was removed from the ice water as soon as the measurement at 60 seconds has been made, and measurements made every 2 minutes thereafter until the blood pressure returned to its previous basal level.

TABLE III
Findings in Cold Pressor Test

Name	Age	Normal Blood Pressure		Response to Stimulus Rise in Blood Pressure		Time Required for Return to Basal Level
		Systolic	Diastolic	Systolic	Diastolic	
C. K.	71	166	110	44	30	8 Minutes
H. T.	29	140	70	34	20	4 "
J. S.	58	110	76	30	26	4 "
F. P.	36	118	78	27	22	4 "
N. W.	34	136	90	20	26	4 "
G. F.	28	116	78	20	24	6 "
A. G.	23	130	90	14	24	4 "
A. B.	28	110	58	10	22	4 "
O. B.	27	128	80	10	10	6 "
C. P.	29	110	58	10	6	4 "

The following case report is illustrative of the volume of work performed on the entire series of ten men who were selected for this intensive study:

TABLE IV
Clinical Findings in an Illustrative Case

Charles K. . . . No. 1328

Asthenic type, white, married, height 5 feet 9 inches, weight 136 lbs.

Head and neck normal.

Eyes: Pupils equal, react to L. & A. Arcus senilis present. Vision normal with correction.

Ears: Drums normal, hearing normal.

Throat clear, tonsils normal, artificial dentures.

Chest: barrel shaped.

Heart: sounds of fair quality, no apparent enlargement, no murmurs audible.

Occasional premature contraction following exercise. Vascular arteriosclerosis.

Lungs: vesicular breath sounds with slightly prolonged expiration, no rales.

Abdomen: scaphoid; liver and spleen are normal; no masses palpable.

Genitalia: normal.

Ano-Rectal: External skin tags; proctoscopic examination shows congestion of mucosa and internal hemorrhoids.

Skin: Moderate dermatographism elicited; generalized xerosis.

Nervous System: Intact. Romberg negative; co-ordination normal; Slight tremor of fingers. Superficial and deep reflexes normal.

Wassermann: Negative.

Kidney function test (PSP test) 65%

Cold Pressor test: Hyperreactive vascular response.

Schneider Score: 2

Turner Score: 3

Basal Metabolic Rate: $+12$.

Examination of feces: No abnormality on gross or laboratory examination.

Blood examination: Hemoglobin 85%

RBC 4,300,000

WBC 8,700

Differential

Neutrophils 78%

Lymphocytes

Small 12%

Large 10%

X-Ray findings:—

Chest:

Lungs: Ghon tubercle present in left lung. There is increased density of both hilar shadows, particularly the left one with the presence of several calcific nodes.

Heart: enteroptotic type with a prominent aortic knob and a linear calcareous deposit, indicative of an arterio-sclerotic aortitis.

G. I. Series:

The stomach is of the enteroptotic type and presents no evidence of defect. It is mobile and peristalsis is normal. At the end of 6 hours the stomach is entirely empty with the barium shadow of cecum and of terminal coils of ileum visualized in the pelvis. At the end of 24 hours, 36 hours and 48 hours the barium is seen distributed throughout colon. There is evidence of spasticity throughout, haustrations have been lost. At the end of 120 hours sigmoid is still partially filled with barium. Contents emptied in 144 hours.

PART II, PSYCHIATRIC ASSAY

The alimentary canal takes on importance in psychology for the part it may play in resolving psychic conflict. It bears the brunt of psychic disturbance and of its organic conversion. Its functions are constantly influenced by repressed emotion, phantasy and dream. While the purpose of the dream is to protect the sleeper and facilitate his bodily processes; anything violent or disturbing within the dream fabric will have somatic repercussions. Conversely, the smooth working of the body passages in sleep is equally conducive to a placid dream process. There is thus a commonality of purpose in psyche and soma in this involuntary spell between consciousness and unconsciousness, that is the measure of a man's Unconscious, and in this length of passage between two sphincters (mouth and anus) that denotes the alimentary tube of whose action and content the organism is insensitive. The passage indicates the extent of unconscious awareness and the depth of the unconscious. Anything which blocks, inhibits or facilitates the one process is reflected somehow in the other; and perfect health implies this dual harmony of function. The occurrence of bowel tension and spasm is ipso facto evidence of *mental* stress and inhibition. Sleep is intended to provide the period for its psycho-physical readjustment and repair.

In cultural myth and fable, man's sleep—the night process of the body—the period of rest between sunset and sunrise, has been represented imaginatively as “a journey under the sea,” which the hero (man) has to endure before he revives with day; it is “a night journey” of incubation comparable to the sun in the bowels of earth or in the depths of sea. This, translated into humanistic terms, is the “voyage underneath” of thoughts through the Unconscious, and emerging as the stream of consciousness on waking. Expressed in purely physical terms (from which the race myth probably derives) it is the journey of food or chyme through the ‘underneath passages’ of the alimentary canal, before it reaches back to conscious awareness with the morning call of nature.

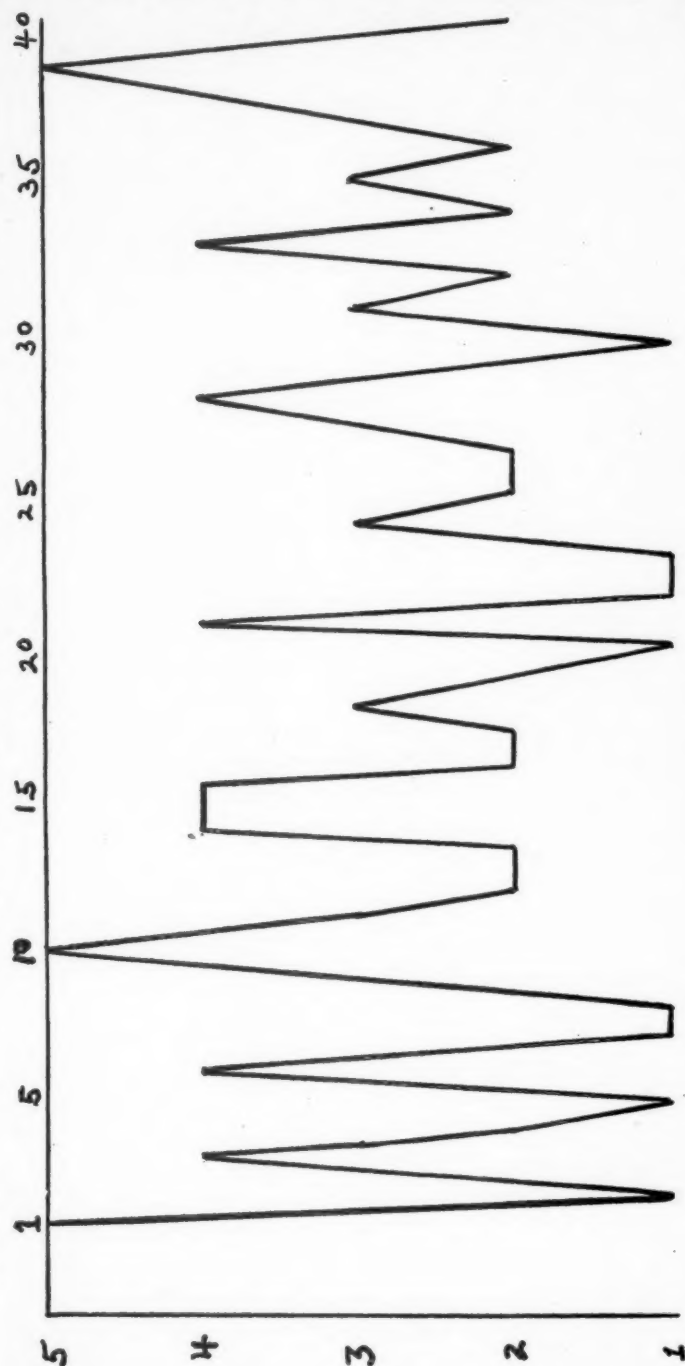
The involuntary systems at work at any time in discharge of instinctual tensions of rage, anxiety or guilt, vary with the individual and with the fascination points (fixations) in his development. Thus the urinary, muscular or respiratory systems may all be involved. These function in the interest of repeat processes occurring between the dual orifices of intake and discharge, which are again under conscious control. The mouth with the ingestion of food and the rectum with its discharge are equally aware of the passage. Of what takes place between these levels of the body, mind is oblivious (unconscious). The involuntary systems represent a sort of material organic basis for the Unconscious.

Functional disability in the bowel may follow whenever the mind is upset. It is no uncommon occurrence, when thoughts and emotions are flowing freely and under the resultant muscular facilitation of stimulation, for diarrhea to follow such speeding up of bowel peristalsis. Conversely, obstinacy of ways and intentions may show in obstinacy of the stool (constipation); while the more prolonged tensions of anxiety in psychic strain may, we believe, become structuralized as spasms or as more organized spastic conditions.

The theory we hold of the process underlying these events is, that workings of the involuntary musculature take place via the autonomic nervous system and conform to patterns of the thalamus, itself under emotional control. Adrenalin in the blood-stream plays its part, and these individuals show other evidences of autonomic instability.

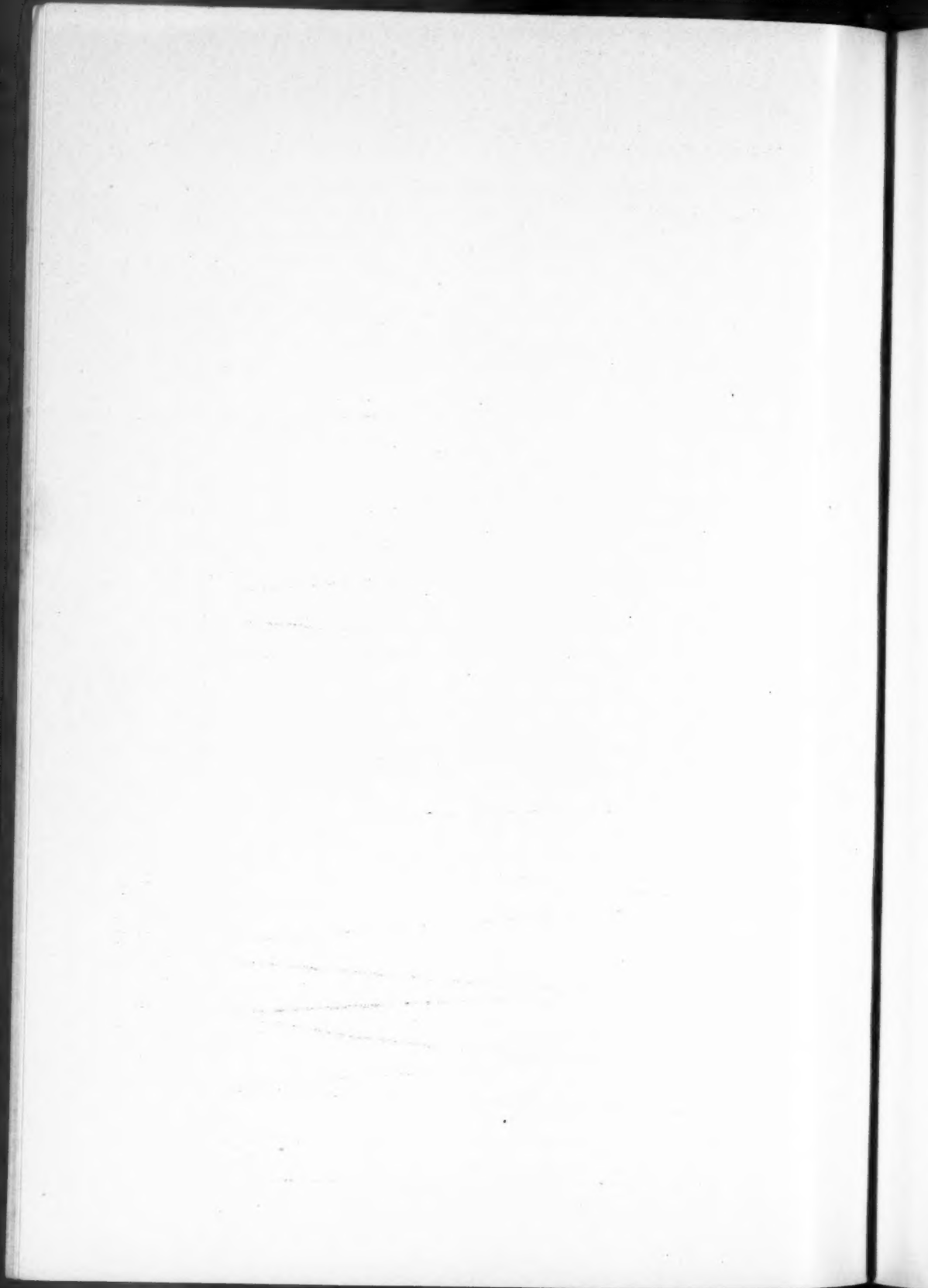
The place of repressed instinct in all this, is in the substitution of *physical* muscle spasm for *psychic libidinous tension*. The pressure of instinctive guilt or elation, anxiety or jealousy, envy or hate seeks a common outlet in the sphere of the bowel or on other functional levels. Its characteristic overtonus is the measure of the repression at work.

TABLE I
LIBIDO OSCILLATIONS IN SPASTIC COLITIS EVIDENCED IN PHANTASY CONTENT OF A CASE DURING 12 WEEKS.



Legend (see illustrations)

1. Pleasure theme: possession of good object.
2. Competition theme: friendly rivalry.
3. Threat theme: fears of security.
4. Hostility theme: conflict with male.
5. Destruction theme: assault on female.



We believe that spastic colon is presumptive evidence of instinctual repression. The instinct of aggression is involved and unconscious guilt is usually present. However, a punishment motif (of mind at the expense of the body), would seem to play a part in such bowel disturbance, indeed masochistic gratification is often evident. Thus, restricted bowel movement, as in fear, terror and unconscious agitation is often to be discerned. Physical signs such as tremor and eye-twitch, skin-sweat and blanching, stammer or paucity of words, frequently accompany the spastic condition (as in these cases), and are evidence of the restriction arising from some forbidden activity. The anxiety is found to be from castration dread and punishment for forbidden ipsation; the bowel being a highly erotised organ in these instances.

The sequence of behavior thus conditioned follows a familiar path; from the child's earliest masturbation guilt, through penis longing and castration-dread, inhibited sexuality or inadequacy, up to adolescent anxiety. The re-orientations of puberty precipitate further symptoms and organic anxiety tension is soon evident as *spasm*. The choice of organ (bowel) is not fortuitous, but is associated with its unconscious erotic significance.

The highly sensitized autonomic system and involuntary musculature (tonus) thereafter conserve the spasm, which is a sensitive index of the unconscious tensions at work. One of the cases we are discussing nicely illustrates some of these mechanisms, which play a part in others of the series, but have been more closely studied in this case.

Illustrative Example

Origins. The subject is 28 years of age, an illegitimate child, though apparently unaware of this. He is the youngest, was at first accepted by the family, but handed over to various relatives to house in his formative years, none feeling responsible for him.

Familial. He claims that his father died before he was born. The mother remarried when he was 17 and was housekeeper to a number of men. There is no evidence that she led a dissolute life. Agencies claim the family has been a "problem" for years and "are all mental defectives."

Childhood: There was no proper upbringing. He had enuresis until three (evidently from insecurity). He could not get along with his lessons nor with his school-mates. At 18 he lost a favorite sister which

greatly distressed him. He was always "peculiar" and "a petty thief," and "wrote a lot of childish nonsense" in his books. He "drank all the medicine he could lay his hands on, even soap or castor oil," his mother asserts.

Traumatic incidents: A favorite sister dying in childbirth had profound influence on him; another sister became temporarily deranged thereby and had to be certified. A third sister (with whom he lived) was unhappily married to a drunkard, who chose her for her money. The father's estate being divided up, the inmate received nothing. He could not account for this.

Course: The psychopathic tendency, present from early years, manifested in periods of "mental instability" and emotional storms. The anxiety features consisted of tremor and sweating, dyspepsia and bowel stasis, and psychological tension phenomena; of fugues, introversion and work inhibition. He finally had to be incarcerated at the age of 26 through an *isolated* act of stealing, by forging a signature. His I. Q. was assessed as 64; M. A. 9; 10 years at that time.

This is the instance of a typical life-story in an individual whose instinctual urgencies first sought outlet in problem childhood, then in psychopathic behavior (crime), and when these were subsequently inhibited further (under conditions of incarceration and punishment), found adult substitute-gratification in direct clinical reaction, once again in the sphere of the bowel. The case is also of interest from the coincident mechanism of unconscious *identification*, seemingly at work in some cases of *forgery*, and this is about to be discussed. It here represents the individual's own solution of his life-conflict over unrecognized illegitimacy and threatened self-security.

Throughout the entire series, the crime motif centers on gratification from moneys, but in the case we have to mention the overt behavior broke forth at last in an act of forgery.

Identification factors. He had been wont at times to cash checks for his mother or sister-in-law at a local store. On this occasion and on the same day he wrote his brother-in-law's name and that of another man and cashed them at different stores; (according to the charge sheet it was the sister-in-law's name, but this is contested and is doubtful). The forgery here was no mere attempt to copy a signature and profit by the gain, it represented a complete identity with the individual, to be

one with him and possessed of his wealth. In this instance the brother-in-law had married his sister not out of love but for a share in the father's estate she inherited. Our patient was denied this, being illegitimate. The ultimate identification probably was with the father. Though the feminine counterpart in his nature (passivity and receptiveness, weakness and unassertiveness) would equally have been satisfied by the forgery of the mother's signature, he did not attempt this, he maintains.

The Unconscious Content. The crime was an effort to reduce anxiety and to counteract internal guilt; to rob and punish the man who made free with his favorite sister and who threatened his own security. This came out readily in the phantasy series, where the *threat of castration* is repeatedly expressed. By complete identification with him, he has the power and the money, the might and the security of one who is head in his own household. He required this instrument of gratification when doubts and inadequacy, storms of rage and a sense of instinctual frustration left him at the mercy of his more destructive and aggressive impulses. Phases of violence were frequent.

Again the phantasy series illustrates this theme of *struggle with a private enemy* (tug-of-war, combat and destruction) whose assaults and depredations on the mother are the sources of his alarm. This will be more fully brought out later under *Instability themes*.

Significance of anxiety. The phantasy sequence, shows situations of terror also, with an attempt at escape from evident anxiety, whenever punished by threatening destructive forces, arising as though from outside. This is borne out by some of the dreams, which display similar anxiety. The drawings of the series persevere on such themes as *threat* from above to an erect object, leakage of power, threatened security (toppling) sawing down or bombing of an object and its ultimate submergence. We interpret this as penis envy and castration anxiety, arising from inner doubts as to personal competence. He has never experienced coitus. The internal tension transfers itself back to pre-genital levels of urinary and anal adequacy, and releases the aggression instinctually bound with these processes. His phantasies take on a markedly oppressive form. He suffers from work paralysis.

Physical responses. The purely physical expression of anxiety tension (transformed to the bowel) shows as spasticity "tonic harden-

ing," chronic constipation, delayed passage, disinclination for food and asthenia. There is also in this case marked hand-tremor, sweating, exophthalmos and emotional stammer, a miniature Grave's syndrome.

Phantasy sequence. We shall dwell, in some detail, on the phantasy content which provides the readiest clue to his unconscious mechanisms. There is a fairly rich inner phantasy life and the nature of the sequences center on certain topical functions, certain instinctual situations, and certain objects of symbolic significance to the subject. The skatological functions of urination and defecation are symbolically expressed, and repeatedly reflect the levels of his unconscious fixations. The instinctual situations are usually those of aggression and bellicosity, competitiveness and castration threat. The objects he likes to draw are play-objects and a cycle, (of interest because he had stolen a bicycle for gain when last paroled). The games are always enjoyed by *two* persons, while the violent assaults are experienced as between two enemies. The aggression is often directed to a passive object, (a building with male or female signification).

So far some 40 independent and spontaneous phantasies have been forthcoming, drawn with some care as to detail. They are self-explanatory and always completed with a heavy dashing line. The earlier drawings were executed with a nervous line with some tremor and in haste. (These do not readily lend themselves to reproduction). We append the main themal contents.

Table I was drawn up after our observing certain recurring themes of phantasy running through the unconscious content, such as the motif of Possession, Hostility, Destruction, etc. which reflected these continuous oscillations in Libido life.

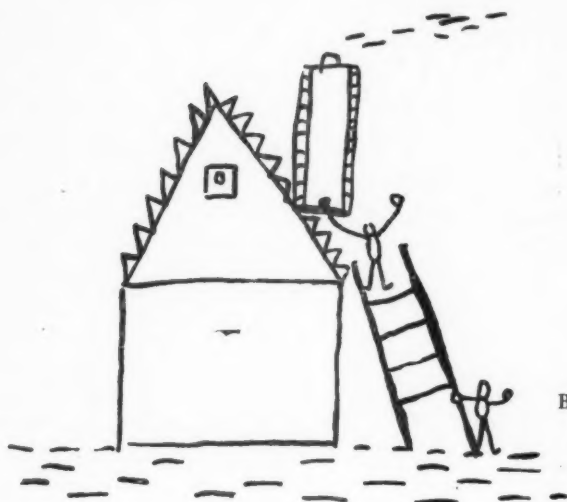
Table II gives some actual illustrations of these high-lights in unconscious intent, closely following the repeat pattern of behavior indicated.

Phantasy Implications

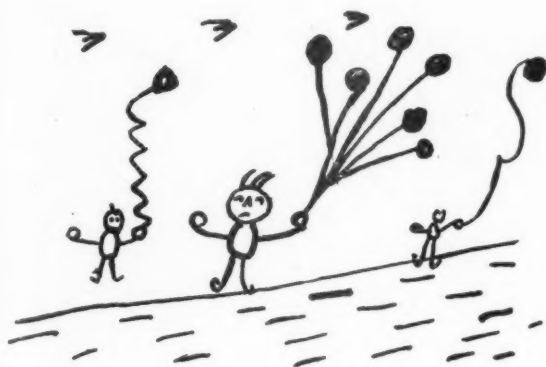
We wish to draw attention to the particular thought content of this series, and the appositeness of these apparently impersonal themes to the deeper subjective experiences of the individual. All his familial, social and life expression, even in the primitive form this took with him, found their representation in disguised form in his phantasy life.

Thus *Pleasure* in an object (Fig. I) (e. g. the pleasure derived from

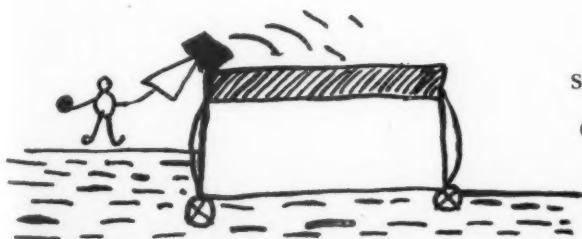
TABLE II
ILLUSTRATING HIGHLIGHTS IN PHANTASY CONTENT



BRICKING UP THE
TOPPLING STACK
(Threat to security
motif).



FRESH FROM THE
BALOON MAN
(Prolificness and
and Leviation Motif).



SHOVELLING DIRT
AWAY
(Elimination of Rivals
Motif).



balloons) covers the phantasy of Possession, the possessing of greater potency. The erection has reference to the envied elevated position of the father and the actual gaining of some of his power. The anxiety as to fecundity is allayed by the prolific reserves at hand; he secures the valued object.

Competition with an object (Fig. II), or "self being pulled both ways," sums up his mental attitude. This also appears in a series of tug-of-war phantasies, a rivalry between two groups which hides his belligerency under cover of child-play. This symbolizes the conflict going on in his *own* mind, the warfare against super ego (father surrogates), and his crime is designed to overcome the aggressor. Rivalry for the mother's love underlies the competitive trend.

Threat to an object (Fig. III) symbolized as an erection that is toppling, unbalanced or about to fall, nicely illustrates the basic theme of *personal insecurity*. There is something to be rectified in his life, bolstered up or "made good." It is expressed in cementing as toward a house, (i. e. body), and succeeds in expressing his vestibular sensations, his uncertainty as to *bodily* position and the self's position in space. All this conveys the real insecurity of the illegitimate child at the hands of the mother, who feels his world slipping from under his feet, and all the sources of his stability threatened. His emotional position in society needs bolstering up. He cannot separate from the mother or allow his make-believe world to topple, or his phantasied erections (in any sense) to be taken from him.

Hostility to an object (Fig. IV) here refers to desires for its instant removal by cutting down, carting away, maiming or dismemberment, a ready realization of the castration theme. The trunk of the tree must refer to the parental trunk. The frequency of this particular phantasy emphasizes the hidden aggression in this case.

Destruction (Fig. V) represents the impulse directed, as in this instance, mainly toward female figures, by a violent assault from above. The figure has phallic significance and here refers to the threat of assault from the irate father on the sleeping mother, from which the patient recoils in helpless terror. It reanimates all the unspoken fears of his own childhood and reenacts all its aggressive phantasy content.

The theme thus of his drawings revolve around these main situations:

I. *Conflict with a male . . . assault-at-arms between enemies, planes, etc.*

II. *Possession of an object . . . cycle, bat, toy or balloon.*

III. *Rivalry of friends . . . tug-of-war or play.*

IV. *Threat of stability . . . a structure or erection in jeopardy and insecurity.*

V. *Assault on female object . . . church, barn or tree in an unbridled attack from above (see illustrations).*

Otherwise expressed the first involves motives of ruthless destruction; the second, retention of some valued object (pastime); the third, games and outdoor play; the fourth, building up, completing and making good; the fifth, burning and bombing etc. (but in this instance with tenderness toward the object).

This sequence oscillates without obvious rhythm and periodicity between extremes of oppression and gentleness, and covers guilt and anxiety, apprehension, pleasure and unconcern. Throughout is the sense of isolation felt only by the extremely insecure. (see Graph).

The Dream Sequence. The neurotic conversion symptoms present were strongly reinforced from the affective currents of the unconscious and were fed by repressed guilt-laden instinct.

The dream sequences bear evidence of the same infantile anxiety that is manifest in the spontaneous phantasy creations. The dread of castration, desire for the forbidden places of the mother, and the *escape* from some amorphous over-powering force. In life he does not know why unfortunate things should thus happen to him, he feels guilt at being "the black sheep of the family," he openly accuses the boss, the sister's husband of infidelity, of being violent to his wife, of marrying her for her money or beating her when drunk, etc.

Nightmare ". . . I am in a cemetery with mother and sister. They are all dead people. . . My mother wanted me to look at my sister but I refused. I see a lot of dead in vaults (like my sister in her casket). So

I wait outside." . . . Again, "I'm doing stunt flying in airplanes. I go upside down but make a safe landing." (Here are memories of infantile ipsation while lying on the back; but later, more adult erection phantasies preponderate).

III. "I am skating by myself. There is a contraption between this and another rink, where fellows are ice-skating with their girls. The woman giving tickets says "you can take them all, three times round for 10 cents." (Note the penalty for enjoyment; with self looking on from another bed).

IV. "I with thousands of others on board a ship, am coming home towards the city. Giant planes are over the river, and the enemy attacks us. I want to get home as quick as possible." (note castration threat from the powerful enemy for incestuous desires).

V. Innocuous play and pastime dreams.

Physiological rating. There is evidence of some autonomic instability in this case (as measured by the Schneider and Turner tests for reactionary pulse, and pressure), lability of sweating and blushing, and the spastic bowel condition, to which reference has been made, which X-Ray findings substantiate. (see Dr. Rubin's report).

Psychological rating. This subject on psychiatric appraisal reveals a *reactive* mental constitution, a *surgency* of temperament, a *poised* mood, and a *conative* introvert function compensating his *feeling* extraversion. He is of *suspicious* character, *moody* in emotionality and *repetoid* in Personality organization. He also shows dominant *autistic* and repressed aggressive instincts and a *complacency* of manner. He himself is withdrawn and *individualistic* in typus, his physical habitus being *lepto somatic*.

Clinical Implication

The case may be summarized as follows: There occurs sometime in the life of an illegitimate child a threat to his sense of familial security, climaxing feelings of insupport which existed from his earliest days. This arouses powerful currents of anger and hate (of anal and urethral pattern), sufficing to fixate libido on these levels, to block the learning process, and in later life making for a defect in intellection and a persistent

sadism which signify the moron mind. His childhood is made up of fears, of insecurity; genital primacy is never attained and enuresis persists; while his phantasy life and emotional life is further involved in attempted repression of ipsation.

The struggle against this, drives the ego back to pregenital levels, (of anal gratification), with the tonus and spasm of colon serving both masochistic* and erotistic ends. Thus in puberty and adolescence, a stimulus in the anal field of hoarding and money gratification which once again subserves sadistic ends, is seized on by the Unconscious. There is work inhibition (aggression), and with it the crime of forgery; an attempted repossession of the male source of power, which signifies to this subject both role *identification* and successful supplanting of and castration of another. He cannot have relations with girls. The phantasy life evidences this attempted deviation of the threat *away from self* to the object, and a super-ego that was never fully formulated in infancy. His clinging to all environmental figures of support gives evidence of the resultant anxiety, with obsessionalism, autonomic lability, spasticity and hypertonus as its most marked clinical feature.

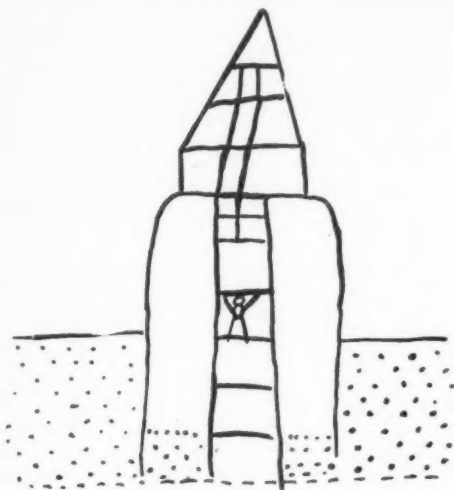
The Series as a Whole

Primarily, attention was directed to the particular personality set-up and penal bias that characterized this study group, which had undergone in each instance a thorough physical and psychiatric investigation. The series showed the following environmental backgrounds and certain personality abnormalities as indicated, but agreed in following a homogeneous pattern on autonomic radiographic and physical lines, as the clinical portion of this report by one of us (J. R.) demonstrates. The further members of the series will here be briefly summarized from the psychiatric angle.

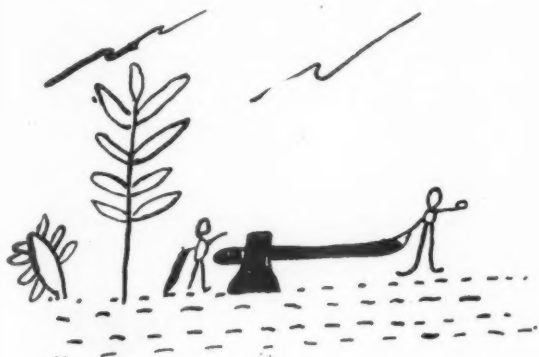
Otto B. was an only child (also illegitimate) of good stock in an economically stable, Dutch-English home, where the mother was a good manager. He had no physical setbacks, a normal infancy, but by the age of 5 had become unmanageable. He had a will of his own and for some reason was a mental retard, and has been variously institutionalized up to present age of 27. Given to stealing money, constant mischief-making and finally fire-setting. He is quick tempered, noisy, resents authority and with a long history of enuresis and is "proud of it." Has now transferred symptoms to alimentary tract; is costive and of poor weight and appetite. He produces at session only drawings of weapons of attack or faces with gritting teeth. He delights in fights, is of

* The bowel spasticity and constraint is for the purpose of disciplining the aggressive instinct (the criminal inside), this is identified with authority figures of punishment whose incorporation and mastery in adult life serve to replace the weaker super-ego of infancy.

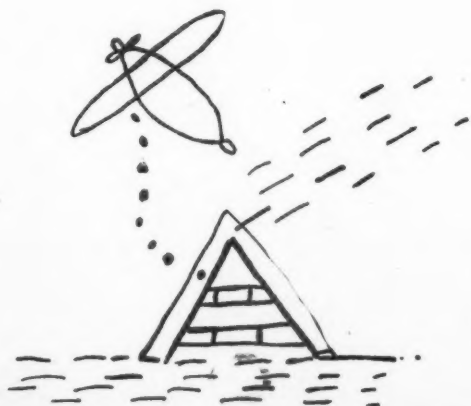
TABLE III
ILLUSTRATING HIGHLIGHTS IN PHANTASY CONTENT



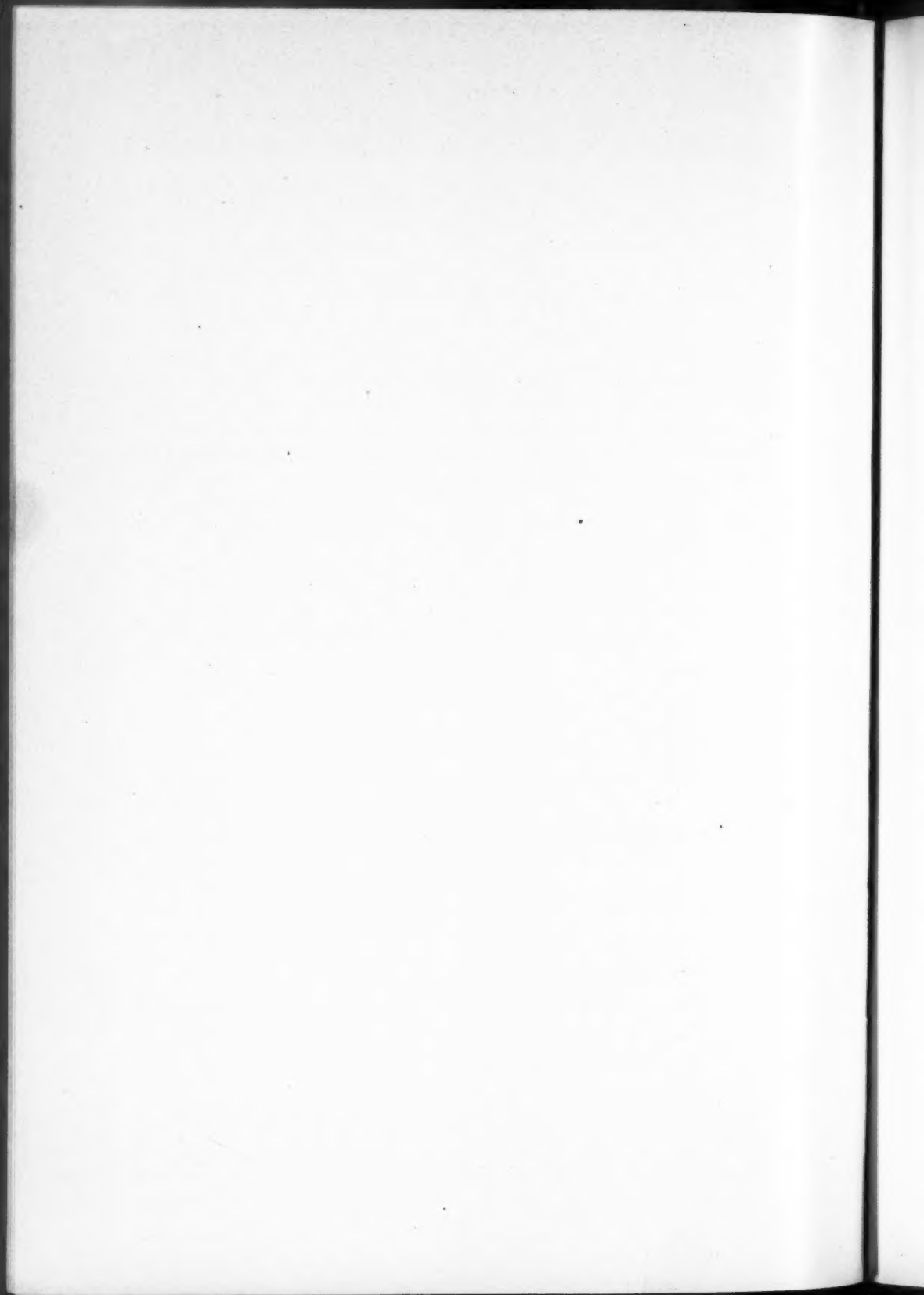
RESTORING
PRESSURE ON
TOWER
(Threat to own potency
Motif).



CUTTING DOWN
THE TRUNK
(Realised Castration
Motif).



BOMBING THE OLD
BARN
(Aggressive Assault
Motif).



wheeling nature and has slight stammer. Thinks he was always costive and "mother had same tendency." His conditioned obstinacy, the factor of anxiety, as of felt rejection, and repressed aggression all play a part in determining his fixation.

Garfield F. No. 1105, stealing food, clothes and previous stabbing charge. Is a young negro of moron character and behavior. He had no schooling, shows a feeble level of intellectual performance and emotional factors are thought to underlie his crimes. G. F. rarely drinks; he bears a hard and resentful, arrogant and aggressive manner. Is at times lackadaisical. Wears a furrowed brow. He is of fixed conservative ideas, most obstinate in outlook, hypochondriacal in complaints. He is truculent and at times threatening to knife people, is cold-blooded and fond of trapping animals and willing to fight anyone. The bowel fixation may relate to the low I. Q.

Charles K., No. 1328. Boiler maker of English extraction. I. Q. 97. Shows a superficially hale manner covering a mask of depression; his wife went off with another man at an age when he was unable to make adjustment. He drowned his grief in alcohol and became involved in incorrigible forgery. He got intoxicated with work-friends and passed forged checks at hotels. His father (a hotel owner) had been unduly stringent in money matters and a strict disciplinarian. He places tremendous value on money, strived to be generous and pride prevents his seeking favors. Has become suspicious and resentful. Is rigid, methodic and conservative in ways, has "piles" and hypochondriacal concern over bowel function. He shows all the signs of zest for anal power; is now suspicious, complaining litigious and feels himself a victim of conspiracy.

Dominick E. No. 530. Charged with breaking in stores, and repeated delinquencies, now aged 30, a truant at school with briefest work history, he is of illiterate stock from a disorderly environment. Various described as stubborn, very dirty but honest in money; a day dreamer or like "a wild animal." He had trouble in learning, is of a roving nature; unstable mentality and sluggish disposition. Has made attempts at escape and at suicide and violated parole. He readily fabricates in self-defence, admits to losing his nerve at the crucial moment in any audacious venture, and presents a picture of sullen resentment and inhibited violences.

Charles P., No. 1222. Has a lip twitch and tremor and signs of hyperthyroidism; gives impression of strained earnestness. Was seclusive at school, poor mixer, is married with two children; sentenced for relieving a man of his wallet and watch, in concert with two others, while intoxicated. Has now a decided paranoid attitude to everything. He blames his friends for sponging on him, the psychologist for his low mentality and the test as a "means to trick you," the police for picking on him and the institution for his present spastic bowel state. He flushes with suppressed rage at any incriminating situation; he suspects everyone. If pressed he becomes obstinate, silent or incoherent. He is good at mechanical manipulation, is conscientious and exact and not insensitive to control. Has probably assimilated the discipline and rigid control as sphincter discipline and bowel rigidity.

Joseph S., No. 458, age 58, with mental age of 6 yrs, 10 mo., described as "suggestible and easily led," was once a cocaine addict; is cheerful and obedient; but with a long history of burglaries and petty larceny; once had persecutory ideas and hallucination and attempted suicide. He is now of a wheeling, whining tendency, an underhand type, showing evidence of constrained, miserly disposition with cringing and obsessive trends. Talks much about money; is hypochondriacal in regard to digestion and bowel function; has had piles operation, is still chronically costive at the level of his fixation.

Table II Indicating Trends of Personality Function in the Series

Case	Constitution	Character	Temperament	Mood	Function	Organization	Emotionality	Attitude	Will	Interest	Manner	Instinct	Trait	Trend	Typus	Habitus	I. Q.	Crime
C.	B	B	D	E	E	C	C	C	B	D	B	E	C	C	C	C	67	B
C.	B	B	B	D	B	D	C	D	C	E	D	B	D	B	B	E	96	B
A.	D	B	D	D	D	D	D	D	C	A	B	C	D	A	D	E	55	B
A.	D	D	B	E	D	D	D	D	D	A	A	D	C	D	D	D	69	B
O.	D	C	B	D	D	D	D	D	D	A	C	C	B	B	C	C	44	B
N.	E	E	A	D	A	E	D	B	D	A	C	B	E	E	D	D	64	B
G.	B	B	D	D	A	E	B	E	E	C	A	C	B	B	D	E	61	B
F.	B	E	D	C	D	E	B	B	C	A	C	C	E	E	C	D	63	B
J.	B	B	D	D	B	B	B	D	D	A	B	B	B	B	B	E	43	B
H.	B	B	D	D	B	B	B	D	D	A	B	B	B	B	B	E	64	B

N. B. each head employs a 5 pt. scale (A to E) — dominants only are indicated in text. Definition of all terms used is subject to a separate contribution later.

Statistical Statement on the Series as a Whole

All of the series examined substantiated clinically the findings exemplified in the physical field by the first case. Their personality makeup follows a distinctive pattern also, and the physiological appraisal was in accord.

We found the following outstanding features of personality common to this group—preselected only by reason of a trait of symptoms (a) Bowel spasticity (confirmed by X-Ray), (b) stasis of colon (clinically) and (c) autonomic instability. The psychological picture can well be expressed on a statistical basis as follows:

All had committed criminal offenses involving money (burglary, forging checks or breaking in) and signs of repressed instinctual aggression were evident in 50%; while 30% were autistic.

The character features were of the *constraint* order in 60% (i. e., traits of miserliness, rigidity, fixed conservatism) and the mood was of *shallow* order in 60% and a low level of interest attachment was registered in 80% (limited to interest in other persons only). The mental attitude was one of shallow mindedness 60%. A trend of *urgency* in their nature was made out in 50% with ebullency of temperament in

60%. 30% were feeling extraverts and 40% showed an *individualistic* will tendency. An asthenic physical habitus was present in 60% while the mental constitution was *reflexive* for 50%.

All the above heads employ a 5 point scale covering the main representative examples met with in clinical work. Thus on chance expectation 20% would be the reading in any one instance.

To sum up thus far, the tendency observed is in the direction of rigidity and fixity, hardness and querulousness as personality traits, with moodiness, mental tortuosity and lack of generous impulses, a restraining conservatism with slowness, thrift and parsimony, and capacity for petty tyranny. Many were also distinctly religious and all were involved in monetary crime. As a group they appear to have characteristic features we associate with anal parsimony, anal obstinacy and anal miserliness (some 25% had extensive piles and welcomed operations). The personality picture is here one of anal erotism and instinctual repression, probably inhibition of *aggression* which turns back on self as punishment, obstinacy or denial. The body conversion being the result of incarceration, the incorporation of an authority figure coincides with a super-ego of fierce rigidity, one of fixed and hard restraint, (tonic rigidity of colon).

SUMMARY

A case study of a representative type of criminal, relates spastic colopathy with repression of instinctual aggression, evidenced in acquisitive trends, and both predetermined in the formative years. The personality facets of a series of such patients with the same clinical tendency were also assessed, and found to follow a fairly consistent pattern (conservatory traits). The physiological consideration of the same series brought out significant variations in pulse and blood-pressure readings, indicative of increased autonomic function, while specific X-Ray findings of colonic hypertonicity were uniformly present. No other outstanding anomaly played a part.

Psychologically the antisocial behavior in each case found expression in acquisitive crime. We believe that such periodic offenses as they showed, (housebreaking and burglary, forgery, hoarding and stealing) were directed against *society*, and when committed under the influence of repressed instinct, may represent little more than purposive released aggression against the self, in a functional relaxing of controls. It represents a breaking-through of inhibitions against a barrier of *rigid-*

ity of character, set up in the first place by an overstern sphincter (morality) and an overstern incorporated conscience. Each crime is thus an act of cathartic release on society involving the expense of psychological guilt. This is expressed as autonomic hypertonus physically, with "secondary gain" from involvement of involuntary (e. g. colonic) musculature; and resulting in a more rigid tonus (morality) and a demand for still greater external discipline (punishment). We cannot here assess the part of bowel obstinacy in causing the intellectual impoverishment, the training difficulty and impaired learning capacity among the clinical instances of "mental defect" present in this series.

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OBSERVATIONS ON SOME CRIMINAL AND
PATHOLOGICAL TRAITS IN THE DICTATORS

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I address you on a subject which must have attracted the attention of every psychologist; that of the many aspects in which Mussolini and Hitler reveal characteristics with which we have become familiar through our studies of less eminent criminals.

I shall divide what I have to say into some remarks on the criminal types of actions committed by the men in question and (secondly, and at somewhat greater length) the modifications and character-mechanisms which seem to underlie their conduct. The overt actions to be considered principally come under three heads, namely: felonies, acts connected with property and deceptions.

FELONIES

In the days when he was a Socialist, young Mussolini distinguished himself by his truculence; particularly when, with the help of a false passport, he got into Switzerland and greatly embroiled himself with fellow socialists as well as with the law. Back again in his native country, he broke with socialists entirely; and, whether or no we believe his viewpoint was correct, the occasion showed him as one who stood out from his companions by approval of violence. Namely, he broke with the pacifism of Italian socialism and declared himself for Italy entering the war. It has since been proved that he was bribed to do this by certain French newspaper owners. But in the capacity of soldier he was evidently at home.

The end of the war did not mean for him, however, the end of possibilities of ruthlessness. Breaking entirely with his old associates, he now led a body of militant young men of the middle class in a march upon Rome. The method by which he gained his political success was that of gangster violence upon persons who opposed him, culminating, in the case of Senator Matteoti and some other victims, in actual assassination.

An American newspaperman has given us a vivid account of a ride which he had with Mussolini in a private motor car. Driving at a terrific speed along one of the new *auto strada*, they struck a child. Mussolini did not turn his head nor slacken speed, but—remarking to his companion “Never look back”—drove right on and did not refer to the event again.

In Ethiopia, Mussolini embarked upon murder on a big scale when, directly breaking an international agreement, he unleashed poison gas upon helpless and inoffensive Abyssinian men, women and children.

Two years ago last April I was myself in Italy, and can testify that few peoples can ever have been more averse than were the Italians to being dragged into war. Mussolini, with his controlled press, tried his utmost to whip up enthusiasm for it, but in vain. Finally, thanks to his command of the machinery of state, he plunged his nation into the maelstrom to help his pal, Hitler.

Turning now to Hitler; he was a failure in life until the Great War came along. It was as a soldier he seemed to find his *metier*; and he won the Iron Cross for acts of daring aggression. He found his way to power at a time which again suited his temperament—a time of political assassination and violence, in which he and the men who cooperated with him were more successful than any other group.

The propaganda methods by which Hitler achieved and increased his political ascendancy merit a lecture in themselves, but I can only say here that they involved a new technique based upon the breaking down of the ethical personality of those to whom they were directed. Ordinary commercial propaganda pays heed to the ethical standards of the community. The Nazi propaganda, on the other hand, stops at nothing in its appeal to the most primitive instincts. It is able to do this because it breaks down these standards by means of threats of ruthless violence which are effective because accompanied by unscrupulous use of just such force.

The rise of Hitler to power was accompanied by cruel persecutions of, and violent assaults upon Jews, Communists, Socialists, pacifists, and all of those of whom it was convenient to make scapegoats whether or not they offered active resistance to his rule.

The foreign policy of Hitler was, from the beginning, based upon aggressive measures. One need not recite, in this connection, the history of his march into Austria, his seizure of, and cynical disregard of promises just made to Czechoslovakia, nor his invasion of Poland before the war commenced and (afterward) of innocent neutral coun-

tries such as Denmark, Norway, Holland and Belgium. Where diplomacy might have gained the point, Hitler (in contrast here generally to Stalin) has actually preferred the method of great violence.

ACTS CONNECTED WITH PROPERTY

Mussolini modified his earlier socialistic views against property and returned to practically the capitalistic viewpoint on individual rights. He would seem, then, to have the less theoretical justification for having first accepted from small capitalists and members of the middle class the funds to put forward a movement which was to crush communism and syndicalism and to have used these funds afterwards for a revolution which struck at his former backers as much as at anyone else.

His regime was guilty of expropriation of property without even partial compensation to minimize the hardships inflicted; and Italian finance has now been for some time such a crazy structure as to necessitate constant political adventures to divert the public mind from examining it.

With an ethics (?) similar to that of Mussolini, Hitler accepted from Stinnes and one or two other very rich Germans funds with which to place himself in power, promising them to suppress communism and like movements against private property. Once in power, however, he struck against those who had befriended him, and, as we all know, presently made an alliance with communism, notwithstanding that the suppression of that movement had been the first justification which he gave for seizing control.

The method by which he has endeavored to take business away from other nationals has surpassed everything before known in sharp practice. Even in the home market, he has encouraged such methods as the putting of inferior materials into motor cars and other goods to be sold to civilians although cars with exteriors precisely similar manufactured for the army have had the benefit of extremely fine workmanship. He has also more than winked at the *graft* of his henchmen.

DECEPTION

Mussolini's career since (at least) the time when he turned against his former socialist comrades has been a web of deception. Take one instance: He was at first given to the most violent diatribes against the Catholic Church, but afterward a concord was made with the Pope; until now Mussolini has the outstanding Roman Catholic dogmas print-

ed *pari passu* with facts of geography and history in the official school texts. He has, in political speeches, openly acknowledged Machiavelli as his political hero. Indeed, the whole of Italian foreign policy since Fascismo came in power has been so notoriously based upon large scale double dealing that I need not belabor the point.

Hitler laid down in his book, *Mein Kampf*, that he considered Germany would be justified in lying and deceiving wherever by so doing she could gain her own point. This doctrine he has more than lived up to.

Outside of a rather small number of members of the criminal class, one hardly ever meets a case of a person who does not regard lying with at least some degree of shame or who is entirely unconcerned with whether or no people place any trust in his word. This disregard of Hitler for this ethical standard is extreme to such a pathological degree as people still simply do not grasp. The old adage that every person has in him some good and some evil is so generally true that we wisely accept the maxim for our ordinary conduct. But to do so leaves us helpless in dealing with extreme pathological types like Hitler. He makes a declaration simply for the purpose of getting the other party to act in some particular way.

In this connection it is only necessary to recall the promises made and broken in the period just before the war. Hitler said he would not violate Austrian neutrality; he violated it. At Munich, he said he had no more territorial demands to make; he immediately demanded more. He said he would never come to an understanding with Russia; he made a compact with her—the detail could be carried on endlessly. Since long before the war commenced, the German propaganda-machine has filled its people with the most utterly misrepresentative reports about their own and every other country. Only news favoring the regime is sent abroad, so that the reports from Berlin are regarded in every other country as notoriously unreliable.

ANTI-SADISTIC DRIVES

The above recital should, I think, be sufficient to show that in the dictators we have men whose overt actions classify them as criminals. It is time now that we made some study of the psychological mechanisms behind these. The four mechanisms which I will single out for these purposes are the auto-sadistic, the narcissistic, the scopophilic and the workings of the oedipus complex.

The most obviously present of these mechanisms in the men under consideration is the anal sadistic. We see in the case of each one of them an inordinate lust for power which stops at no cruelty against those who stand in the way but seems actually to rejoice at each excuse to inflict suffering. Combined with this, in the cases of our dictators, is ability for the sake of achievement of these ends to endure suffering at the hands of others. This points to the probability of a considerable degree of masochism.

Mussolini, in his revolutionary days, showed himself well able to take punishment. He was undaunted by imprisonment or the hardships of the life of a rebel. When his turn came to wield power, he was correspondingly cruel to others. He devised an unique method of torturing those who opposed him by the administration of enormous doses of castor oil. Other enemies were beaten and clubbed, and the Lipari Islands were fitted out as a kind of hell on earth whither political opponents might be exiled.

Hitler, as in other cases, seems to have worthily rivalled if not outdone his confrère in the severity of his character. His youth was one of continual hardships which it seems to have been more congenial to him to endure peacefully than to struggle against (up to the time that he became a political agitator). Once in office, he seemed to dream of nothing but increased power and of the hardening of the German people to make them his instruments in obtaining it.

No indication of compassion toward the Jews or other unfortunate victims of his regime at home—not a moment's thought for the fearful flood of suffering which he planned to loose upon the world—is recorded of him.

NARCISSISM

The second trait which comes out with great prominence in the case of the dictators, and one with which we are familiar from clinical studies, is that of extreme narcissism. If the vanity of the typical criminal is proverbial, that of the objects of this study is equally notorious. It manifests itself in a degree of self-advertisement which has its historical parallel in the efforts made by the early Egyptian Pharaohs to plaster their civilizations over with their own effigies.

The dictators excuse to themselves these efforts at self-glorification on the ground that they facilitate the task of ruling. In normal men, however, the resistance against such display is so great that any-

thing of the sort is done with reluctance, or becomes quite impossible owing to taboos of ethical origin or from modesty. Since we get no indication of inhibitions of this sort from either Mussolini or Hitler, we must conclude that they are overruled by the strength of the narcissistic tendency.

Those who have read Dr. Ernest Jones' books on psychoanalysis will recall his frequent use of the term taken over from one of his—or was it one of Freud's?—patients, of the "god-complex," the belief that one is God. This complex in its full form occurs only in insane persons or in those with an egotism amounting—and such is Hitler's case—to paranoiac personality. It shows itself in the dictators as an ordinary incapacity to tolerate all opposition or even guidance. Ordinary mortals, or even the greatest specialists, are treated as impertinent if they offer counsel—for a god must be omniscient. Similarly, the omnipotence of the political "deity" must be shown in engineering and other architectural achievements on a grandiose scale, such as building the pyramids, draining the Pontine Marshes, overthrowing the existing social order or shattering a world empire.

The feature which characterizes Mussolini above others is probably his theatricality. He has been able to capitalize on the love of the Italians for bombast because this fitted in so well with his own character. He has allowed his picture (with chest puffed out and aggressive-looking chin) to appear everywhere and his words to become a bible for his worshippers.

When my daughter and I were in Milan two years ago, we noted an entire story of a large building opposite a restaurant in which we were lunching, which had been given over to, and was labelled prominently with the name of "Scuola di Mistica Fascista." On further investigation, this turned out to be a kind of Italian new religion which takes the words of wisdom dropped by Mussolini in his various speeches as a latter day revelation. It holds congresses regularly which the intelligentsia of Italy are invited to attend and endeavors to develop a whole series of religious attitudes with the dictator as their inspiration. Benito has given his official sanction to this movement.

The narcissism of Hitler in the form it takes today may be seen as a reaction against the humiliations which he suffered in his childhood. He was treated with contempt by his own father and his way of rebelling against this father was to be poor at his studies and at everything in which the father desired him to succeed. The inevitable consequences were that after his father's death he found himself unqualified to get

admission to the architectural course which he would very much have liked to take; and there followed several years in which he was a vagabond and a failure in the eyes of the world. It is, in fact, the community of experience between himself personally and Germany (I am referring to the humiliations suffered from the Versailles Treaty and thereafter) which produced so much congeniality of outlook and mutual understanding between himself and the nation.

In the day of his success, Hitler's vanity has taken the same forms of self-aggrandizement as that of other dictators. Immense military parades were fundamentally an expression of his own power. The same may be said of such grandiose engineering and architectural achievements as the running of huge straight roads squarely through the center of Berlin, necessitating the tearing down of immense blocks of buildings at an expense quite unjustified by the advantages accruing.

SCOPOPHILIA

Of the four motives of which I plan to speak I shall give least attention to the scopophilic one and mention in a general way without references I have given in other cases to the two men individually.

The form in which this tendency is best known to criminologists is that of *voyeurism*. It does not, to be sure, take quite so primitive a form in the case of the dictators. But I think we may say that a very similar gratification is evidenced through the medium of the immense espionage system which each of them has developed. However, I would again point to the fact that the social evils resulting from such a system are very obvious and would have given greater pause than they appear to have done to men who did not have an abnormal development of scopophilia.

Accompaniments of this tendency are secretiveness and deceptiveness. The psycho-analytic finding has been that the curiosity of children is greatly whetted, even though its overt forms may be repressed, by the conspiracy of adults to deny to them the knowledge which they crave about sexual and related matters. It has been found that one form which childish resentment takes under these circumstances is that of having their own secrets, kept jealously from adults, and paying back adults' deception by counter-deception. It is well known that children will often invent "secret languages" of which "pig latin" is an example.

The spy systems of the dictators and the elaboration of intrigue

and of propaganda fairly revelling in wholesale deception and confusion of the public mind may now be understood. In the measure that they are fantastic, they all uncover the workings of an abnormal development of this same scopophilic tendency.

OEDIPUS COMPLEX

If I give a somewhat abbreviated account of the oedipus complex in the dictators, it is only because this motive is so frequently used in explanation of political phenomena that it has become fairly familiar to everyone and because its applications here are so obvious that they do not greatly require attention to be drawn to them by me. It is not because I underestimate their importance, for obviously the oedipus complex vies in importance with the sadistic power motive, although it does not surpass the position of that, the most important of all these mechanisms.

Again in this case, there is striking similarity between the men we are considering. Between each of them and his mother there existed an unusually warm devotion. Each of them had a father who was brutal by nature and treated the boy, if not the mother also, in such a manner as to fill him with the most violent hatred—which he was in after life to displace upon other paternal figures and upon the world. Let us now take our two men in detail.

Mussolini's father was a blacksmith with strong ideas on disciplining his sons. He used to give Benito the most terrible beatings. At times the boy rebelled. However (although only for a time) he seems to have solved his internal conflict in the usual way of projecting this antagonism toward his father onto imagos outside the family circle—namely, against the rulers of society—and thus affected a reconciliation with his true father, who, as it happens, was a socialist. But this reconciliation was only temporary; and Mussolini later rejected his father's social philosophy and became the persecutor of socialists throughout Italy. Indeed, it was never as easy for Mussolini as for Hitler to pre-tend friendship, even for a time, with Communist Russia.

Of other expressions of Mussolini's hate I have already given a sufficient account.

Biographers have recently dug up many reminiscences about the Hitler family from people who knew them during Adolf's boyhood. All describe Adolf as passionately devoted to his mother and violently antagonistic to his father. It was on this account, as I have already

hinted, that his boyhood was largely a continuous play to disappoint his father's expectations in every way.

Whether as a soldier, as a disputant holding forth in cafes on the wrongs suffered by the Germany whom he identified with his mother, or as the tyrant destroying his enemies, Hitler cosistently presents the picture of a man boiling over with a sense of being wronged. He will be known to future generations as the creature who, above all other known criminals, exemplified the spirit of unlimited hate.

SUMMARY

I will conclude with a rapid resumé.

We discussed three respects in which Mussolini and Hitler in a strikingly similar way resembled the typical felonious criminal. First, both of them were such men of violence as to prefer the lawless method of achieving ends which they could have got even more effectively in a peaceful way. Secondly, their attitudes toward property, even when we make allowance for the effect of unconventional social theories, has been lacking in all equitable considerateness. Thirdly, they came very close to being within the category of pathological liars.

In explanation of these points on the objective behavior of the two men, we considered four subjective aspects in which they were equally abnormal. First, both were sado-masochists of an extreme type—apt at enduring suffering themselves and at inflicting it upon others. Secondly, they were typified by an abnormal degree of narcissism, amounting to what analysts have called the "god complex." Thirdly, there was an abnormal scopophilia, appearing in the genius which they have thrown into the development of an espionage system, in their penchant for secret intrigue and in their zest in deception. Fourthly, each of them presents the story of an unhappy boyhood in which a brutal father played his role in developing that hatred which the dictators are venting upon humanity.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDIES IN CONSTITUTIONAL PSYCHOPATHIC INFERIORITY

Part I: Systemic Patterns

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The report which follows contains the summary of an attempt to subject diagnosed psychopathic inferiors to an experimental procedure designed to seek out somatic differences between the performance of such individuals and a random sampling of a penitentiary population. It is based upon the proposition that behavior is supported and, to an extent, governed physiologically. Therefore, through the measurement of various autonomic indicators in constitutional psychopathic inferiors as compared with so-called normals, we seek to discover any observable differences in systemic response to the conditions of the experiment.

A. THE EXPERIMENTAL SETTING AND TECHNIQUES

The technique employed in these investigations was similar to that used in the writer's previous researches in emotion.⁽¹⁾ The predicament, which has been found central to emotion, was induced again by an electric shock which followed upon the cessation of a signal tone. Profiting from the errors of his earlier researches with this technique, the writer was able finally to establish conditions of constancy, control and repetition.

Subjects. Two hundred and eight inmates of a Federal Penitentiary volunteered for the experiments; each volunteer served as a subject on two occasions. Subjects were divided into two groups: one, the control group, consisted of 103 individuals who were serving their first term in any prison, who had never before been arrested, and who were classified by a psychiatrist and the writer as 'normal'; the other con-

(1) LINDNER, R. M. & BENTLEY, M., A functional and dynasomatic study of emotion, *Amer. J. Psychol.*, 52, 1939, 189 ff.

tained 105 diagnosed as CPIs.* For the latter group, the diagnosis was carried further by selecting only those individuals who showed a preponderance of those signs usually associated with CPI. A check-list which comprised the outstanding signs or symptoms of CPI as they appear in the literature was prepared and each individual selected for the experimental group was first required to meet at least 20 (67%) of the requirements of the list. This check-list, with the symptomatic picture presented by one of the psychopathic subjects, is appended. Wherever possible, the diagnosis of CPI by more than one psychiatrist and the writer was obtained, and all available records were closely examined to support that diagnosis.⁽²⁾

CPI CHECK-LIST

SYMPTOM	Check if present
1. Lack of insight	x
2. Only verbal acceptance of social demands	x
3. Intelligence of normal to superior	x
4. Cannot pursue social goals	x
5. Defective relationship with community	x
6. Rejects authority	?
7. Defective judgment	x
8. Sexual maladjustment or perversion	—
9. Nomadism	x
10. Egocentricity	x
11. Emotional immaturity	x
12. Paranoid tendencies	?
13. Failure to profit from experience	x
14. Selfishness, etc.	x
15. Few emotional ties	x
16. Rationalizes easily	x
17. Easily distracted	—
18. Memory good for remote, poor for recent events	x
19. Youthful appearance	?

* The abbreviation, CPI, will be used throughout in place of the cumbersome phrase "constitutional psychopathic inferior."

⁽²⁾ The writer here wishes to express his appreciation to the men who cooperated in this research; to his able clerical and technical assistants; and to the professional and custodial staff of the U. S. Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Penna., who permitted him the use of records and equipment. Special gratitude is due to the officials and officers of the U. S. Public Health Service under whose auspices this research was performed.

20.	Under forty years of age	x
21.	Extraverted	x
22.	Impulsive behavior	x
23.	Frequent contact with the law	x
24.	Defective parent relationships	?
25.	Temper tantrums in childhood	?
26.	Eneuresis	?
27.	Truancy from school	x
28.	Dislike of teachers	x
29.	Runaway from home	x
30.	Reformatory or Juvenile Home history	x
31. Other	

Subject: Group x

Apparatus and Technique. The Examiner (E) was seated before a master panel which controlled a Darrow Behavior Photopolygraph and recorder, an audio-oscillator, a Ford Spark-coil inductorium, and a governed timing device which consisted of a constant speed motor driving a revolving kymograph drum provided with timed, uninsulated sectors. The apparatus was screened from the Subjects (S) by a simple hospital bedside screen with apertures for leads from S to apparatus. S was admitted to the laboratory according to the research schedule. Pneumographic, sphygmomanometric, galvanic and tambour leads were attached.⁽³⁾

The tone employed was a disturbing one of approximately 500 cycles. Its inception was exactly two minutes after the recordings began, and it lasted exactly sixty seconds. The shock, of one second duration, was delivered thirty seconds after the tone had ended.⁽⁴⁾

(3) Operational instructions, as advised by Darrow, were followed. These were obtained from the Stoelting Manual of Instructions and from Darrow's many publications. For the description of the apparatus *sans* the present writer's minor additions, CF., Darrow, C. W., The behavior research photopolygraph, *J. Gen. Psychol.*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1932, 215 ff.

(4) Certain hazards of experiment and apparatus had to be overcome. They are briefly reviewed here for subsequent researches and also for whatever light they may cast on the results of the present experiments.

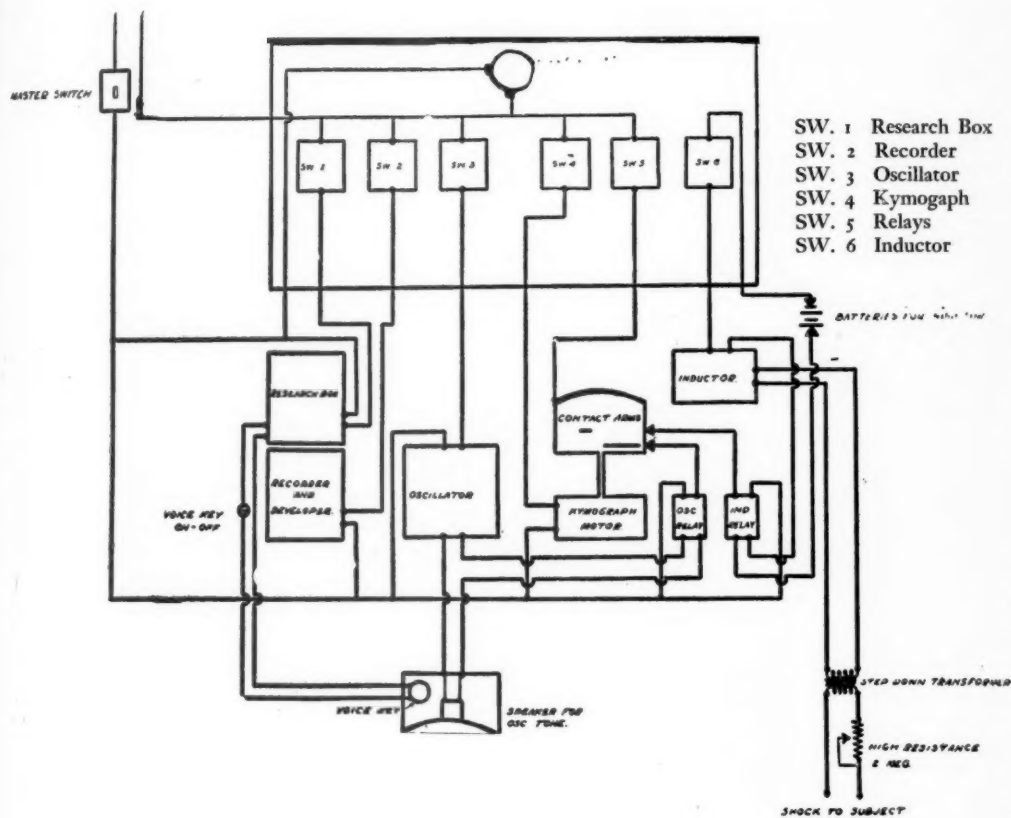
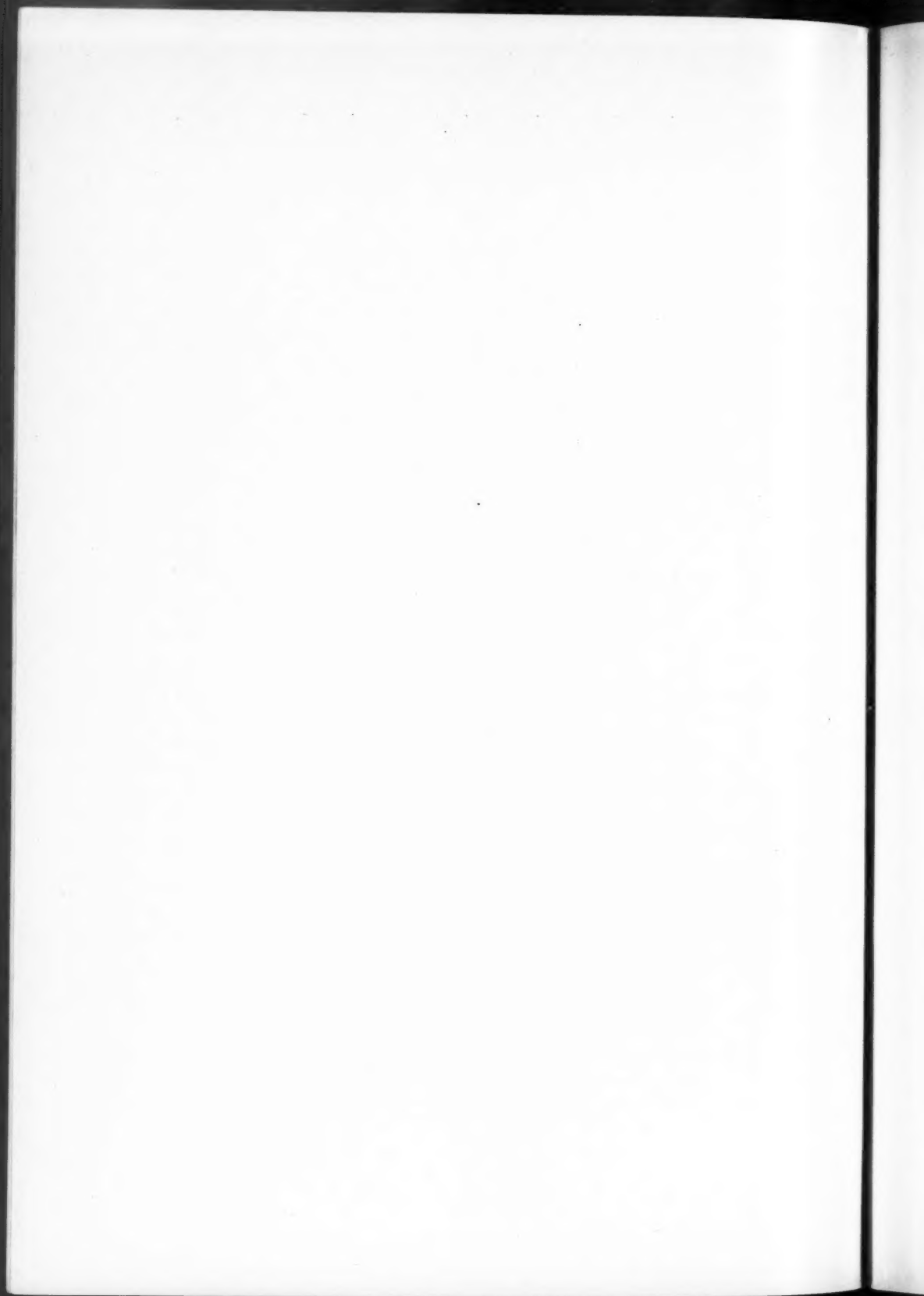


Fig. 1. The Plan of the Apparatus



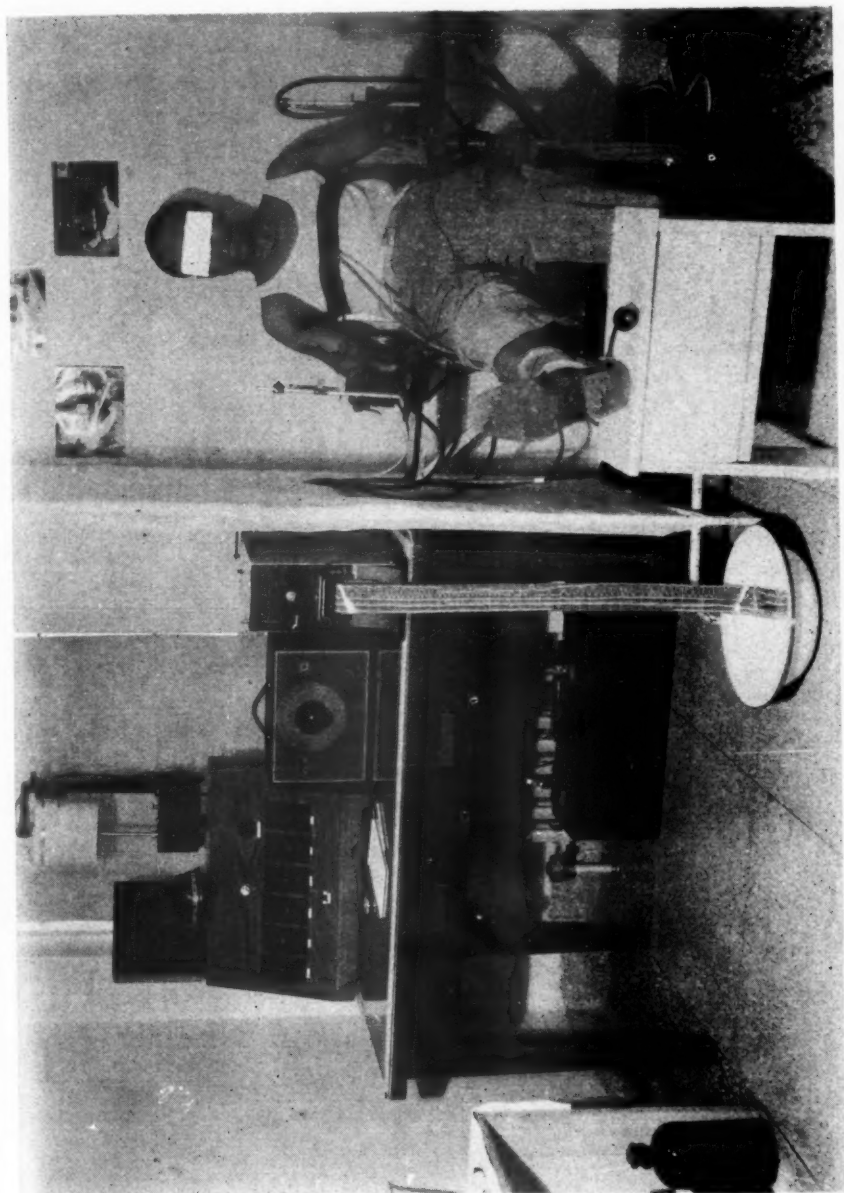


Fig. 2. Apparatus and Subject

The recordings began when S was balanced into the galvanic circuit and instructed as follows:

"You will hear a tone. Soon after it ends, you will receive an electric shock. Do not talk or make any unnecessary movements while the experiment is in progress."

After a series of preliminary runs, it was decided that the most satisfactory method of procedure was to obtain a continuous record for each S of five shocks. Since minor disturbances in each S on successive days tended to alter physiological and psychological functioning, it was considered that with a continuous single-period recording a more satisfactory and complete pattern would be forthcoming. Thus for each S a continuous single-period run of five shocks was made, and after the list of Ss had been exhausted, a repeat series was made in order to check the reliability of the original data. Ss were retained for further experiment where records from the repeat series and the original did not

1. During the preliminary experiments the induction coil was active from the beginning of the recordings until the end. This resulted in a shock of varying intensity due to the crystallization and corrosion of the contact points of the inductorium. It was also found that the strength of shock varied from day to day in the same subjects and that it was too great for some Ss, causing an excessive deflection of recording pointers. It was therefore necessary to introduce some control to allow only the amount of shock required to produce a reasonably readable change on the records. A way also had to be found to stabilize the output of the induction coil. This was accomplished by placing a high (2 megohms) resistance in series with one of the leads to the shock electrodes. Accordingly the amount of shock was subject to control and a standard was selected from which no deviation was permitted. The problem of the inductorium was solved by placing its output through a relay, which caused it to be activated only at the moment the shock was delivered, so eliminating crystallization and corrosion, and resulting in a uniform shocking current.

2. The galvanic action proved the most critical of all recordings. Resistances, resulting in meagre or excessive fluctuations, were presented when anything but extreme care was employed. Because in some cases the introduction of shock resulted in deflections beyond the recording range, it was held most feasible to limit the sensitivity of the galvanometer to 'medium,' except where it was insufficient for certain Ss.

3. After considerable experimentation it was discovered that the best pulse readings were obtained when the bladder of the sphygmomanometer was placed posterior to the achilles tendon about three inches above its insertion in the os calcis. Placement here resulted in a strong and inflexibly uniform reading.

4. Inasmuch as shock was applied to the upper right arm it caused S usually to twitch this arm and resulted in a large, sometimes full-scale deflection of the right hand tremograph. To eliminate this, the sensitivity of the right-hand tambour was reduced and wire-guards were so placed that the deflection of the pointer would be kept within certain limits. With the left-hand tambour, it was found that it operated in conjunction with the respiration, all subjects applying pressure on exhalation.

indicate the same objective patterning. Where reasonable agreement was found—especially since the second series was performed after two months—it was assumed that a true picture of the functioning of S had been obtained.*

It will be noted that, under the conditions of this series of experiments, three crucial periods are to be found. There emerges first: T¹, the 1 minute period during which the tone is sounding; T², the 30 second period before the shock is delivered; and T³, the two minute period following shock when the organism returns to normal.

Now the premise on which these experiments have been conducted is that the physiological changes occurring in T¹ and T² are the somatic supports or governors of the psychological functions during emotion and provide an index to the excitability or 'emotionality' of S, while the measurement of T³ in terms of its length indicates the ability of S to return to a homeostatic manner of functioning according as the period is long or short.⁽⁵⁾

It will be seen, then, that the present experimental technique has been designed (1) to discover if certain functionings of the CPI differ from those of the so-called normal individual; and (2) to provide the hitherto innocuous concepts of 'instability,' 'impulsiveness,' etc. with a basis in the physiology of the organism.

B. EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

The following section will be concerned with results obtained directly from the *Darrow Behavior Photopolygraph*. They will be treated under the various crucial periods mentioned in the previous section. At the close of this chapter, after the analysis of the records in terms of components is accomplished and differences between groups have been established, an attempt will be made to consider the special differential characteristics of the complete records from each experimental group.

I. *Galvanic*. Readings of the galvanometric response were made

* Cf. D. below, *The Records*.

⁽⁵⁾ We already have an account of the prolific nature of psychological functioning in anticipation and emotion. Cf. Lindner, R. M., An experimental study of anticipatory apprehension, *Amer. J. Psychol.*, 51, 1938, 253 ff.; and Lindner & Bentley, *Op. Cit.*

by the measurement of the amount of change per 4 mm. unit in the direction of departure from the zero (balancing-in) point. The balancing of S was accomplished by the introduction of resistances until the shadow of the galvanometer came to rest, and remained for at least 15 seconds, at zero. There was no need to convert readings into log conductance change as recommended in previous studies.⁽⁶⁾ In our experiments, by the use of resistance eliminators consisting of Redux paste and pads moistened with physiological salt solution, all conductance in all subjects was equalized at zero. Thus we cannot be said truly to be measuring the "galvanic reflex," but are merely attempting to attack the organism in this direction to ferret out possible loci or differentiae between our 'normal' and CPI groups.

That the vasomotor system enters into galvanic phenomena has been understood for many years.⁽⁷⁾ Aveling and McDowell reported galvanic deflections when the skin was removed;⁽⁸⁾ and it is this writer's bias that this is essentially what has been done in the present instance. When our deflection occurs in the direction upwards from zero, we may understand it as due to the constriction of the blood vessels, when downwards, to their dilation.⁽⁹⁾ This last statement bears not at all upon these experiments or the results and is used only insofar as it has aided the writer in understanding the materials with which he has to work.

After the recording has been completed, a device was constructed by which each record was read. This device consisted of a horizontal slot through which the record was run: at right angles to this slot, and so devised that it could be shifted in an upward or downward direction, a calibrated metric scale was placed. As the record passed under the vertical scale, the amount of deflection was immediately registered. The values so accumulated were then examined to determine the type of statistical treatment to which the data were best suited. It was soon apparent that for most of our data, since deviations from the zero balancing-in point were very small, the *mean* was the best expression of value, while the *standard deviation* more accurately depicted the dis-

(6) SOLOMON, DARROW & BLANROCK, Blood pressure and palmar sweat (galvanic) responses of psychotic patients before and after insulin and metrazol therapy, *Psychosom. Med.*, 1, 1939, 118; recommend the use of *log conductance change* as providing a measure of physiological activity.

(7) LANDIS & DEWICKE, The electrical phenomena of the skin, *Psychol. Bull.*, 26, No. 2, 1929, 88.

(8) ABBOTT & WELLS, Psychogalvanism in the observation of stuporous conditions, *Psychol. Rev.*, 1919, 26, 360 ff.

(9) AVELING & McDOWELL, The effect of the circulation on the electrical resistance of the skin, *J. Physiol.*, 60, 1925, 316-21; *Physiol. Abstr.*, 10, 1925-6, 485.

persion from the mean. The significance of the difference ($D/\sigma D$) enabled a judgment of importance to be made. It was further discovered that variations within each of the crucial periods were small enough to permit the usage of these simple procedures.

After the amount of deviation within each crucial period was determined, the next step was to calculate the mean difference *between* crucial periods and so to obtain an index of changes and their significance between the successive stages of each run—a single run containing all three crucial periods.

From the foregoing, it will be seen that each record was closely examined for every semblance of change throughout its entire length; that simple mathematical and statistical procedures were used to determine the amount and direction of deflection in each crucial period of the experiment, and to obtain an index of change between periods.⁽¹⁰⁾

The amount of resistance required to obtain a zero reading on the galvanometer was 78000 ohms for C group; 79000 for X group.* Deviation from the mean in both cases was 1000 ohms. That this difference of 1000 ohms between the groups exists is not of any significance, except insofar as it demonstrates immediately the slightly heightened tension of the CPI.

Table I presents the results in terms of galvanometric deflection of both groups of Ss in all crucial periods. It is at once apparent that in each period the CPI demonstrates a markedly heightened response.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Symbols used in succeeding pages and their meanings follow: SV equals (stabilization value) the length of record from balancing-in point to inception of first tone; TV¹ equals (tension value) the 1 min. period during which tone is sounding; TV² equals (tension value) the 30 sec. period after tone ends and before shock is delivered; TV³ equals the 2 min. period after shock is delivered; SV² equals period from last shock of series to first point at which galvanic reading reaches zero, or until final 2 min. period ends; SV²L equals the measurement in seconds of length from last shock until zero is again reached; Sh equals amount of recorded change after or concurrent with each shock; Th equals amount of recorded change after or concurrent with inception of each tone; Rt equals reaction-time in seconds of deflection following each shock at a film-speed of 4 mm. per sec.

* C equals control group, non-CPI: X equals experimental group, CPI.

TABLE I

Amount and Direction of Galvanometric Deflection

Period	Mean Deflection	Mean Deflection $D/\sigma D$	
	C Group	X Group	
SV	-3.0	-6.9	3.7
TV ¹	+4.1	+9.5	3.2
TV ²	+6.7	+13.6	3.1
TV ³	+8.6	+17.3	3.4
SV ²	+7.0	+17.2	3.0
Sh	+9.6	+ 9.1	—
Th	+5.7	+ 5.6	—

The Table above indicates the following: Under the conditions of this experiment, the galvanic response recorded from the palmar surface with the experimental group shows a mean deflection in most cases which is double the mean deflection as recorded from control subjects. All differences but those in the Sh and Th are statistically significant. The indications in terms of physiological tension seem to be that CPIs, on the whole, are less tense before the period which marks the beginning of an emotionally charged episode, but that apprehension increases markedly as the focal point of the episode draws closer; that this tension continues almost unchanged after the shock (focal point) has been delivered—while with the controls the same period (TV³ - SV²) marks a relative decisive fall in tensional apprehension.

An interesting observation is that both groups give similar responses both to tone and shock. This indicates that the episode was not differentially charged for both groups: it would seem to offer indisputable evidence that both groups perceived the situation as equally dangerous, insulting to the organism's integrity, or damaging.

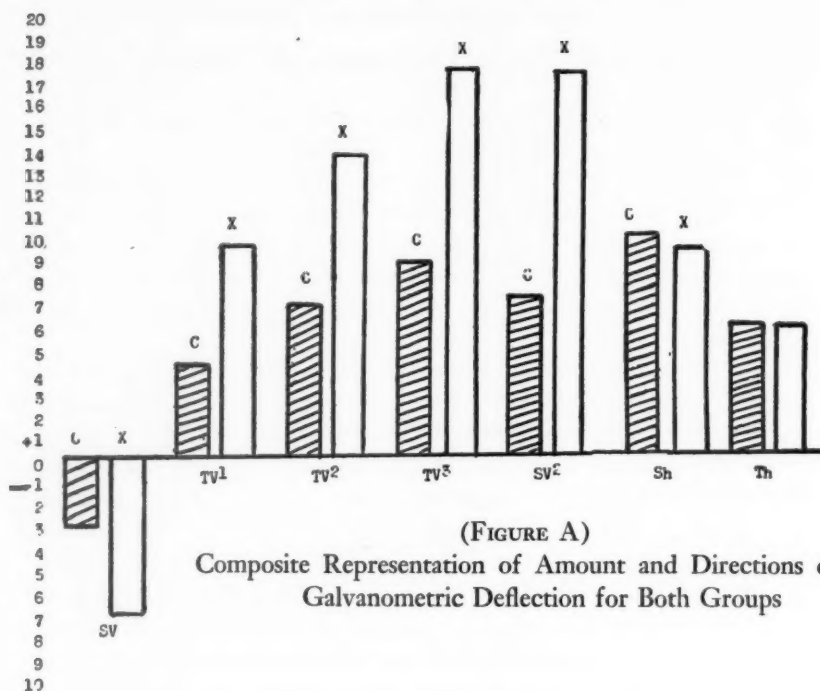


Figure A is a graphic presentation of these results, depicting the ideal composite tracing of galvanometric deflection for both groups.

SV²L and Rt are not included in the above illustrations since they represent different aspects of the problem. The former concerns the measurement in terms of seconds of the return to normal of both groups of subjects. As we would anticipate, the CPIs demonstrate, by a wide margin, a quicker return to the zero balancing point at the end of each series. Of the X group, 75.8% return to zero in less than 20 seconds; only 12% of the C group achieved the zero within the two minutes allotted for continuous, undisturbed recording after the last shock of the series had been delivered. The indication here is patent. *CPIs demonstrate, at least so far as this type of galvanometric variation is concerned, a decidedly increased facility to revert to normal physiological functioning at the conclusion of an emotionally charged episode.*

The examination of Rt (response-time to shock) yields a mean response-time of 1.5 sec. for C group; 1.26 sec. for X group. While this difference is relatively small, and statistically of no significance

($D/\sigma D=.58$) yet, the complex alteration of function that must be undergone to produce such changes as are involved biologically, cause the writer to assign a special significance to the difference. With this in view, we are presented with the possibility that the CPI is perhaps poised more delicately, that his body is perhaps more responsive to alterations in the situation, and possibly more suited to compensate for such changes by effecting a more rapid organic readjustment.

Amount of change between periods. A closer scrutiny of galvanic data reveals a number of interesting and rather important facts. It was thought necessary to measure the amount of change exhibited by individuals in both groups in order to obtain a clue as to the manner in which the galvanic patterning is altered from crucial period to crucial period, and to establish whether or not there is also some difference to be found between groups in this respect. Accordingly, the means for all changes were obtained from period to period, as illustrated below.⁽¹¹⁾

TABLE II

Mean Amount of Change between Crucial Periods

Period	C	X	$D/\sigma D$
SV-TV ¹	+13.6	+10.6	2.8
TV ¹ -TV ²	+ 3.6	- .1	7.1
	+ 4.1	+ 3.3	2.7
	+ 7.3	+ 4.0	8.4
	+ 8.7	+ 2.1	6.0
	+ 7.8	+ 3.5	3.7
TV ² -TV ³	+ .34	+ 4.8	3.0
	+ .52	+ .8	2.0
	- .15	- .4	6.0
	- 4.9	+ 2.7	3.6
	- 1.0	+ 5.0	3.2
TV ³ -TV ¹	- 4.5	- 7.4	2.0
	- 2.7	- 7.7	3.1
	- 2.5	- 8.1	3.1
	- 2.3	- 8.4	3.4

⁽¹¹⁾ Reference to the appended records will show that for each series there are five shocks: thus there will always be a single SV-TV¹ period, five TV¹-TV² periods, five TV²-TV³ periods, and four TV³-TV¹ periods.

The significances of the differences, as given above, were worked through for each set of changes to obtain an index of importance for the data collected from individuals in each group. The results all point to the conclusion drawn from casual examination of the table above; *i. e.*, the data are definitely opposed, the responses of the CPIs remaining throughout different from the responses of the control Ss. All differences but four are shown to be truly significant, and of the four each is possibly significant.

It is now apparent that CPIs respond differentially, at least so far as galvanic deflection is concerned, from the undiagnosed control group. Their responses, on the whole, demonstrate what would appear to be the reflections of different and more profound organic changes occurring within the compass of an emotionally charged episode.

II. *Dorsal Pedis Pulse.* The photopolygraph was found to be ill-adapted to giving reliable blood-pressure readings, and under the conditions of this experiment it proved impossible to obtain such readings. The cuff could not be placed on either arm because of the shocking electrode applied to the right arm, nor could there be complete assurance that the leg to which the cuff was finally applied would remain in a fixed position. It was felt that Ss suffered enough restraint and discomfort, and it was found advisable to placate and avoid antagonizing especially the CPIs. Therefore, the data collected refer solely to pulse-rate. That cardiac rate varies with emotional stress is a matter of common observation; whether or not there exists any difference between CPIs and control Ss in cardiac rate is the subject of this section of the present report.

The measurement of the dorsal pedis pulse beat was accomplished in approximately the same manner as that of the galvanic changes. Our concern here was with seeking the *number* of recorded beats within each period and from period to period.⁽¹²⁾ This number was obtained by recording the frequency within each unit of measurement of the anacrot of the wave on systole. Table III presents the results in terms of frequency of beat for both groups of Ss in all periods. Here we must pause

(12) Symbols used in this section have the following meanings: B (as SV) = period from beginning of recording at balancing-in point to inception of first tone; B¹ (as TV¹) = period from beginning of tone to end of tone; B² (as TV²) = end of tone to shock; B³ (as TV³) = from shock to beginning of next tone; B⁴ (as SV²) = period from last shock to end of recording. On the film, certain definite changes are noted on shock and tone, but these are, for the most part, artifacts resulting from a jerking of the leg to which the cuff was attached.

to recall that we are dealing with cardiac frequency and a mean difference of even a part of one beat—a frequent phenomenon, since a beat may be initiated in one period and concluded in the next—has a certain significance.

TABLE III

Frequency of Dorsal Pedis Pulse in all Periods of both groups

Period	Frequency / unit	Frequency / unit	D / sigma D
	C Group	X Group	
B	6.6	6.5	.23
B ¹	6.5	6.5	—
B ²	6.4	6.5	.14
B ³	6.4	6.1	.81
B ⁴	6.4	6.3	.21

The indications from Table III above are two-fold. In the first place, it is evident at once that the subjects in the C group show less pulse irregularity; that the curve is one of gradual descent until it stabilizes at B⁴. In other words, there is a gradual diminution of pulse frequency until the crux of the episode is reached, and from this focal point forward, no alteration takes place. For the X (CPI) group, however, the picture is rather different. The regularity of pulse frequency is maintained until the focal point is reached; then there is a sharp drop (pulse-time is lowered), to be followed by an increase during the period when the organism is recovering from the episode and preparing for the next onslaught of tone and shock. Although differences are not significant, we can discern a patterning of response that is an accurate reflection of the organism's activity.

It will occur to the reader, that, in the foregoing section on galvanic change, almost the same process was evident. Apprehension, in this case signalled by a fall in pulse-frequency, betrays itself more with the CPI: the pulse is slowed just as the galvanic deflection rises. These results are graphically presented in Figure B.

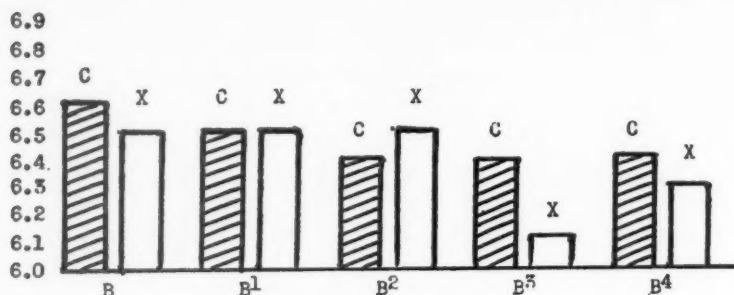


FIGURE B

Composite Representation of Dorsal Pedis Pulse Frequency

Amount of change between periods. When these results are subjected to closer analysis, it becomes evident that, for the most part, the responses of our two groups of subjects are dissimilar. In the section on galvanic responses, we were able to show that the data collected seemed to place the CPIs in a different functional category from the controls. With pulse frequency, however, such a divergence of response is not to be expected since we are measuring the performance of a bodily organ which varies not so radically from its usual mode of functioning even in periods of stress. Hence, what differences appear are necessarily slight. Tabulated below are the results derived from the examination of data from crucial period to crucial period with the object of ascertaining the mean amount of change in dorsal pedis pulse frequency.⁽¹³⁾

With this set of data, six changes are decidedly significant, three are possibly significant, and five are probably not significant.

The consideration of dorsal pedis pulse frequency under the conditions of the experiment, point to the following conclusions: While the difference in this performance between CPI and the control group is small, inhibition of this activity takes place in a more marked fashion among CPIs, who characteristically maintain regularity until the emotional crux has been reached; demonstrate inhibition with the following focal point; then rally in preparation for another siege. With the controls, however, the main feature is the gradual progressive, rather than the marked and sharp, inhibitory process.

⁽¹³⁾ The records will again show a single B - B¹ period, five B¹ - B² periods, five B² - B³ periods, and four B³ - B⁴ periods.

TABLE IV
Mean Amount of Dorsal Pedis Pulse Change between
Crucial Periods

Period	C	X	D/sigma D
B-B ¹	+.2	+.2	—
B ¹ -B ²	+.2	-.28	15.0
	+.13	+.02	2.7
	+.01	+.005	2.5
	-.03	-.001	4.1
	+.02	+.01	2.8
B ² -B ³	-.15	-.21	.6
	-.93	-.1	5.5
	-.05	-.07	1.5
	-.08	-.054	1.2
	-.08	-.02	4.0
B ³ -B ¹	+.09	-.12	3.9
	+.03	+.02	1.0
	+.05	+.03	1.0
	+.05	-.001	4.2

III. *The Respiratory Response.* Another response which was considered and recorded by the photopolygraphic method was the effect upon the respiration of the conditions set under this experiment. In everyday living, as well as folklore and fiction, disturbances and changes in respiratory rate and amount in periods of emotional or organic distress are observable. Our object has been to discover whether a differential response occurs as between CPIs and control subjects.

For the purpose of obtaining as complete an account of this response as possible, the examination of the data was accomplished first by the measurement and consideration of the frequency of the response as exhibited under our conditions by both groups; then by the same technique applied to the amplitude of the response.

1. *Frequency.* The frequency of the respiratory response was obtained by taking into consideration the number of wavecrests appearing in each unit. Again the deviation within the groups was small enough to permit of the use of simple mathematical procedures. Table V presents the results.⁽¹⁴⁾

⁽¹⁴⁾ Again Fr etc. corresponds to B and SV, etc.

TABLE V

Frequency of Respiratory Response in all Periods
for both Groups

Period	C Group Frequency / unit	X Group Frequency / unit	D / sigma D
Fr	31.5	32.3	.26
Fr	18.8	18.0	.64
Fr	10.5	10.4	.16
Fr	38.7	37.6	.28
Fr	30.9	32.6	.82

Inspection of the table above, as well as the figure below, leads to the observation that there is little difference in respiratory rate between our two groups. All subjects seem to follow the same pattern: respiration is inhibited as the focal point of an emotional episode draws near; distinct inhibition emerges with the presence of the crux of the episode and the goal of the apprehension; excitation is marked when the crux has been passed; the normal rate returns as the organism recovers from one episode and prepares for the next.

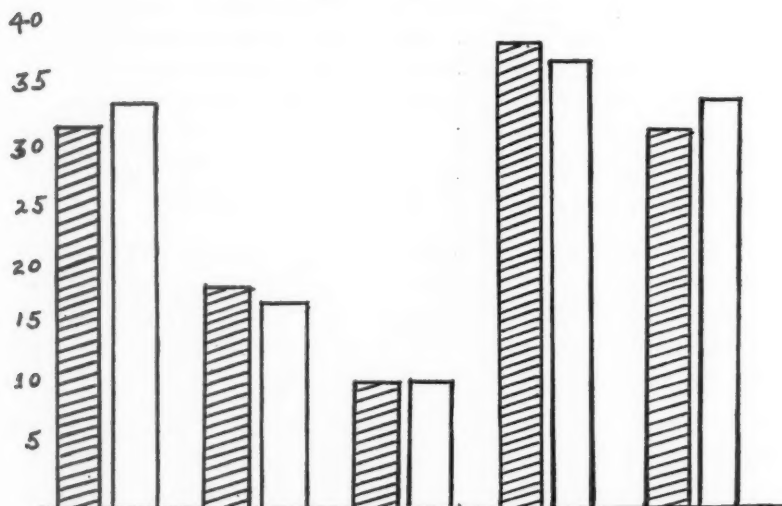


FIGURE C
Composite Representation of Respiratory
Frequency Response

Amount of change between periods. Examination of the Table below, where the mean amount of change in each period is set forth, will show that there does seem to be a consistent, though small, difference between our two groups. CPIs show a very small variation in the direction of heightened excitability. None of the differences are, however, of any significance, although close examination of the records shows this difference actually to exist.

TABLE VI
Mean Amount of Respiratory Frequency Change
between Crucial Periods

Period	C	X	D/sigma D
Fr-Fr ¹	-11.0	-11.6	.25
Fr ¹ -Fr ²	- 8.7	- 9.0	.18
	- 8.5	- 8.6	.06
	- 8.4	- 8.4	-
	- 8.0	- 8.8	.42
	- 7.9	- 9.0	.52
Fr ² -Fr ³	+29.0	+30.5	.55
	+28.0	+30.0	.75
	+28.0	+30.5	1.20
	+27.0	+31.0	1.10
	+27.0	+30.5	1.30
Fr ³ -Fr ¹	-20.0	-22.0	1.00
	-20.0	-21.0	1.70
	-20.0	-21.0	1.50
	-19.0	-22.0	1.00

Our conclusions then are that the same patterning of response is followed by both groups: inhibition of the respiratory frequency appearing as the crux of the emotional episode approaches and becoming stronger at the focal point; excitation appearing markedly after the crux has passed. A further examination of results has shown that CPIs demonstrate a small, statistically insignificant, but regularly heightened excitability throughout, as exhibited by a consideration of change in response between periods.

2. *Amplitude.* The amplitude of the respiratory response was obtained by the measurement of the inspiration curve from base to apex in each unit. Table VII presents the results obtained.⁽¹⁵⁾

TABLE VII
Amplitude of Respiratory Response in
all Periods for both Groups

Period	C Group Amplitude / unit	X Group Amplitude / unit	D / sigma D
A	8.0	6.3	3.7
A ¹	7.7	6.2	2.4
A ²	4.8	6.1	3.0
A ³	7.8	6.1	3.8
A ⁴	7.7	6.0	3.9

Table VII discloses that, with the control subjects, the amplitude of the respiratory response suffers a sharp inhibition as the focal point of the emotionally charged episode nears, and that, as soon as this point has receded, amplitude of respiration returns to a level proximating that at which the organism entered upon the series. With the CPIs, however, there is first noted the fact that the amplitude of respiration is not so great as that of the controls during the stabilization period when the organism is presumably functioning at a normal level: secondly, that there is evident a progressive, slight, and relatively insignificant inhibition of response throughout the series, with the respiratory apparatus functioning in an almost unchanged manner. All differences but one are statistically significant, the exception falling, however, in the area of the possibly significant.

So far, then, as the amplitude of the respiratory response under our conditions (which make for emotive functioning) is concerned, CPIs seem not to exhibit sharply demarcated signs of stress in any single period. The controls, however, produce an erratic pattern with the sharp fall in A². The figure below presents this graphically.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Again, A etc. corresponds to Fr, B, Sv, etc.

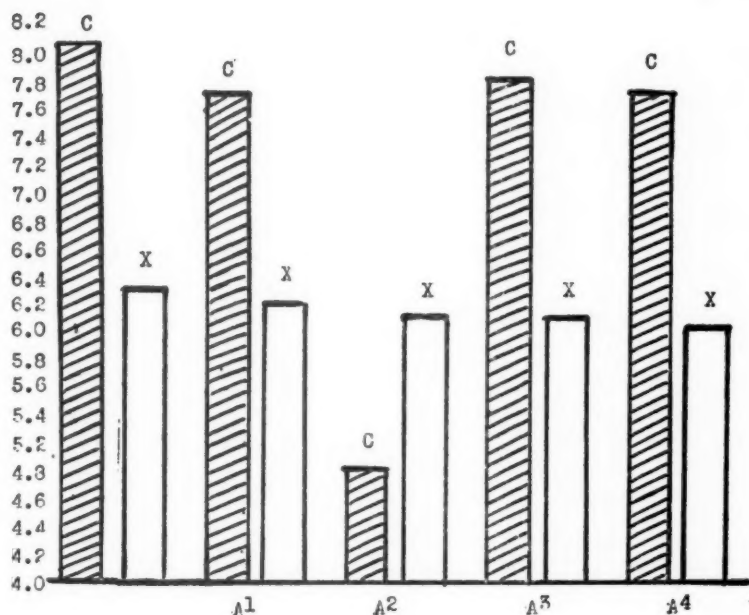


FIGURE D

Composite Representation of Amplitude of
Respiratory Response

A breakdown into mean amounts of change in respiratory amplitude is accomplished in Table VIII. It will be noted that most of the differences between means are of undoubted significance, a few possibly significant, and only two differences falling wholly below the limits of significance.

TABLE VIII
Mean Amount of Respiratory Amplitude Change
between Crucial Periods

Period	C	X	D/ σ D
A-A ¹	-.41	-.11	4.3
A ¹ -A ²	-.1	-.06	4.0
	-.75	-.11	3.5
	-.01	-.15	2.8
	-.31	-.12	1.0
	-.34	-.04	2.3
A ² -A ³	-.04	-.34	2.9
	-.60	-.06	3.0
	-.11	-.09	6.4
	-.51	-.09	2.6
	-.29	-.20	1.9
A ³ -A ¹	-2.30	-1.20	3.8
	-.52	-.11	2.7
	-.17	-.09	3.6
	-.13	-.03	2.0

C. CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing examination of photopolygraphic results disclosed real differences between the control and CPI groups in respect of systematic changes under conditions providing for emotive functioning.⁽¹⁶⁾ Before we turn our attention to the records-as-wholes, it would be well to summarize briefly the highlights of our investigations thus far.

1. CPIs, on the whole, in terms of physiological tension, are less tense before the period which marks the beginning of an emotionally charged episode, but apprehension increases markedly as the focal point of the episode draws closer. This tension continues almost unchanged after the focal point has passed. With control subjects, however, tensional apprehension undergoes a decided fall after the focal point has been reached. From this, we are justified in the conclusion that CPIs remain in a fairly high state of tensional apprehension following the *crux* of an 'emotional' experience.

(16) That these (or similar) conditions *do* provide for "emotive functioning" has been shown by Lindner & Bentley, A functional and dynosomatic study of emoting. *Op. Cit.*

2. CPIs and controls show no difference, by objective measurement, in their appreciation of the significance of the emotional situation.

3. CPIs demonstrate, at least so far as deflection of the galvanic recording pointer is concerned, a decidedly increased facility to revert to a normal mode of physiological functioning at the *conclusion* of an emotionally charged episode.

4. There is some slight suggestion that the CPI is perhaps poised more delicately; that he is perhaps more responsive to alterations in the situation; that there is a slight possibility that he is more suited to account rapidly and compensate more quickly for such alterations.

5. Apart from the fact that the differences between our groups are not statistically significant, there is indication that control subjects show less irregularity of pulse-beat during the progress of the experiment. Apprehension for the CPIs, as indicated here by a fall in pulse-frequency, is apparent. Now if we are to adhere to the theory that an upward (negative) deflection of the galvanic recorder results from capillary vasoconstriction, and if we are permitted the assumption that small changes in pulse frequency are reflected in larger galvanic indices, we have here a demonstration of the consonance of our results in these two systemic entities. While it was stated that these gross differences in pulse frequency between groups were not statistically significant, changes from period to period show measurable significance.

6. A special feature of pulse-beat with CPIs, considered in the light of changes between periods, is the inhibition of the response with and following the crux of the episode. Correspondence between this and the recorded galvanometric response is patent.

7. There are no differences in the frequency of the respiratory response as between both groups. All subjects follow the same pattern: inhibition of the respiratory frequency response as the crux approaches; distinct inhibition at the focal point; excitation when the crux has been passed; a return to normal during the recovery period. Small but insignificant differences in the direction of heightened excitation appear with the CPIs.

8. So far as the amplitude of the respiratory response is concerned, there exists a significant difference in the patterning of the

groups. There seems to be a consistent, progressive and slight inhibition of the response with CPIs, the individual members of the group showing regularly a characteristically descending curve of response; while control subjects show marked inhibition as the crux of the episode approaches. In general, it may be said that CPIs breathe less deeply than control subjects.

9. Our experiments have had to deal with two groups that differ in age.* Now it may be protested that the age difference is sufficient to explain the systemic variations that have been found. Even though in this work we are dealing with *change* and not with *absolute* values, it is true that age may have some effect. Yet our primary concern has been *patterning* as a special characteristic of physiological response; and it is a fact that none of the control records (with the exception of those mentioned later) could be confused with the experimental records. Records of psychopaths, *irrespective of age*, appear to fall into a certain demonstrable pattern, substantially different and immediately distinguishable from the pattern obtained with control subjects.

(To be concluded in next issue)

* Cf. Age distribution in Part II.

A CASE OF NECROPHILIA

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The literature contains very little on the subject of necrophilia. In English there are Krafft Ebing's book⁽¹⁾ which describes the two famous cases of Sargeant Bertrand and Ardisson, and Ernest Jones' book, "Nightmares, Witches and Devils."⁽²⁾ Until Dr. Brill's recent paper⁽³⁾ there were but three papers published in the last twenty years, one was in Russian and two in French. Of the two French papers, one was of medico-legal interest only, the other was a paper by Marie Bonaparte.⁽⁴⁾

The necrophiliac whom we wish to describe was arrested because he was found kissing the lips and touching the breasts of a female corpse in a funeral parlor. After his arrest he was admitted to the Prison Ward of Bellevue Hospital on August 9, 1940, charged with violating Section 43 of the New York Penal Law. This section states that, "A person who wilfully and wrongfully commits any act which openly outrages public decency, for which no other punishment is expressly prescribed by this chapter, is guilty of a misdemeanor."

W. R., the patient, is a 50 year old, pale, emaciated man, who appears younger than his years. In 1911 he had an appendectomy; a hydrocele developed on the left side one year later. The patient associated this with "poison from the appendix." Evidence of this is a small scar on the under-left side of the scrotum which the patient points to as the side "where they let out the poison." He also had a left inguinal hernia which was reducible.

The patient was adopted at the age of four from an orphanage where he was placed from birth. Nothing is known of his father; his mother was unmarried. His foster parents brought him up as their own child, and it was only upon the death of his foster mother, when the patient was 38 years old, that he learned for the first time that the people who had taken care of him were not his real parents. There were no other children in the family.*

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* It should be borne in mind that whenever we allude to any relative hereafter, they are only related to the patient through the foster parents and have no blood relationship.

He describes his father as a pleasant man who made a living driving a team of horses and who took good care of his family. His father died from tuberculosis about five years prior to the death of his mother. Of his father's death, the patient says,** "He looked better than when alive. I kissed him when everybody else did. I thought he was my real father. I was a little afraid of him." (i. e. when alive).

Although fond of his father, W. R. expressed more affection for his mother. The following are replies to questions about her: "No, I wasn't afraid of her. She was quick-tempered. She hit me a couple of times. I giggled. She didn't like me to giggle. She touched my penis once when I showed her my rupture. I only saw her undressed once, when she was dead. Hers was the only dead body I didn't admire. The one I thought would be good looking turned out to be worst. They must have done an autopsy; she was on a ward and didn't pay—that's the reason they did the autopsy. I told them I wouldn't give permission, but I think they did it anyway. The first time I ever saw the body of a woman was when my mother died. I could only see the upper part of her breast. I found out she was not my real mother after she died. She left no will. Her brothers and sisters got most of the money; the judge decided most should go to them. That was because I was adopted."

W. R. got as far as the last grade in public school. He left school to help his mother who stopped doing house work because of an injury to her hand. He helped in the house until his mother was well enough to carry on with her work. According to him he was 16 years old when he left school; he was left back once.

The patient began to work in 1912 and continued in various jobs until 1930. Between 1930 and 1932 he was on relief. From 1932 to the date of his arrest he worked on W. P. A.

According to the patient, his practice of visiting dead bodies began in 1930 (about six years after the death of his mother). "It was in 1930 that I first began to masturbate. An aunt (maternal) died. She was laid out in a casket; looking at her caused an erection. I went into the bathroom, I spit on it (penis) and rubbed it with my right hand. Nothing went through my mind, just relief afterwards. I felt it was something I shouldn't be doing." The patient states that it was sometime after this experience that the ritual of visiting funeral parlors be-

* * All replies in this paper were elicited in response to questions similar to those used by Schilder in his book, "Psychotherapy" published by W. W. Norton, New York.

gan. He gives no explanation for this activity other than that he was compelled to do so out of curiosity. He would cut out death notices from the daily newspapers, dress up and visit the bodies. Both his landlady and an aunt with whom he lived mentioned that they saw clippings of death notices neatly stacked in his room. Sexual contact with the corpses consisted of the following: He would kiss the lips of the corpse or touch the breasts; if this were impossible he would just look at the body. Any of these stimuli would cause an erection. He would then wait until he could go to a lavatory, or until he returned home to masturbate. The corpses were usually female, and either middle-aged or elderly. The only male corpses he visited were relatives or acquaintances; only the male corpses of acquaintances stimulated him. He denies visiting the funerals of children. Dead relatives, including females, never excited him. (His statement about his aunt is, of course, a direct contradiction of this). He would carry out this ritual about two or three times a week. Whenever possible he would visit funeral parlors about 9 A. M. to avoid relatives of the deceased.

The first corpse the patient saw was that of his father's mother. The patient was five years old at the time. He remembers that his grandmother died from injuries received after being hit by a bicycle. At the age of twelve, he saw the corpse of a man who had lived in the same house. There was no sexual excitation at these times.

An aunt with whom W. R. lived for several years following the death of his mother, states that he attended the funeral of a strange girl even before the death of his mother. She also states that when he was 14 years old a niece of hers died. W. R. who was playing with a ball near the body, placed the ball between the ankles of the corpse and giggled in a silly way. She says that his mother was told of this incident and slapped him at the time. The patient has no recollection of these two incidents. However, his statement that his mother occasionally hit him because he giggled might be connected with these events.

W. R. states that he has several friends who are undertakers and that he visits them every few months. While on the ward he expressed the wish to be a morgue attendant. He felt the work would sufficiently satisfy his craving for visiting dead bodies.

The patient's psycho-sexual development is inhibited and shows marked infantile features. He has never had any hetero-sexual experiences. When asked why he never attempted sexual intercourse, he replied as follows: "Never had money; never bothered; I was afraid. I had a little trouble with the testicle; they got poisoned from an operation. I

was frightened to have relations after that. I had to get operation on them shortly after the operation (i. e., appendectomy). They made a hole and drained it out. I imagined it would be dangerous to go around with a woman. I felt I wasn't the way I ought to be on account of having that trouble. I felt I couldn't have relations. I'm not sure whether I could do it now or not." When asked why he never went out with girls even prior to the operation, he answered, "Folks would never let me." When pressed and asked why he did not attempt intercourse despite his feelings, he stated, "Afraid—afraid woman would find out about the testicle." When asked what was wrong with him sexually, he replied, "Only the testicle."

When questioned specifically of what he was afraid in intercourse, he replied that he wasn't afraid of the penis becoming injured, "only the testicle. It (intercourse) might cause it to swell up—fill up with more water—might have to be tapped again." He was also afraid that he might injure the woman in intercourse. "Rupture might prevent penis from going in too far. I wouldn't want it to go too far either. The fluid might not go in the right place. I don't think penis could go in because of the testicles. I couldn't satisfy her." (But how would that hurt woman?) "I might get too rough. I'm quick-tempered. I might go too quick. It might hurt her. I might injure her insides. It might interfere with her having children."

The patient associates his rupture, which is not marked at all, with the testicle. To the question, "Are you afraid that your testicle might get hurt?", he replied, "Afraid rupture might come back. As a boy I was kicked there (seven years of age). When I was a boy I had to wear a truss for a couple of months." A repetition of the same question caused him to reply, "Yes, sure, because they're not in the right place; they ought to be raised a little." Further evidence of the patient's association of his rupture with sexual organs was elicited by his answers to the following questions: "Are you afraid that your penis might be injured?" He replied, "I have to have a suspensory on all the time. Told I had a weak spot there." The patient was asked if he wanted to have a child and said, "No, I couldn't; having trouble below there."

The following questions and replies further illustrate the patient's retarded sexual development. (What is the difference between a bull and an ox?) "One is a male and one is female." (How strongly sexed are you?) "Don't think so. If I have this trouble, I doubt it." (What is the ugliest part of your body?) "Where the testicles are."

It was very difficult to get the patient to describe any of his earli-

er sexual experiences. He describes one such experience and insists that he never masturbated again until after the death of his mother. The following is a description in the patient's own words of the former and a brief description of how he began his necrophiliac practices following the death of his mother:

"I first masturbated maybe when I was fifteen or sixteen. I saw a boy doing it in my house. I went to school with him. He took his penis out and told me to take mine out. He wanted to put it in my rectum but we were interrupted. I didn't let him. He never did it again. I never did it again until my mother died. I don't know (when) exactly. It was years after that. Someone died in the family—can't remember—maybe grandmother (maternal). She didn't know her daughter was dead; she was a woman of eighty. They told her about her before she died. (September, 1926). It was in 1930 that I began to masturbate. An aunt (maternal) died. She was third oldest—next to the youngest. She was laid out in casket. Looking at her caused an erection. I went to the bathroom and masturbated. I think the next time was in 1932 or in 1933 (when) another aunt (maternal) died. I just looked at her and had an erection—masturbated at home. Next time was a couple of years later—say in 1935—I think it was an actress. Saw write-up in papers. I had to masturbate— it wouldn't go down otherwise. It's the kissing that caused the erection in all cases. Mother and grandmother didn't affect me. The papers described how she (actress) died in hospital. Went to see her out of curiosity. I saw her in movies. In 1936 it was another actress, etc. . "

The patient states that he began visiting corpses "merely out of curiosity." He now feels it is a "habit" which he finds difficult to give up. He attributes his compulsion to a fall: "I put it down to a fall I had. I was thrown down a cellar when I was ten or eleven years old." The patient claims that he masturbates only if he sees a corpse or if he has a vision of the body just before going to sleep.

In answer to why he was attracted to the corpses of middle-aged or elderly females he replied, "Because breasts are more developed." (Why don't you attempt something similar with a live woman?) "I'd be afraid. A live woman would not let me do it." (Do you ever feel like inserting penis into corpses?). "No, because it's wrong." (What attracts you most in the bodies of corpses?) "Upper part." (Do you masturbate when you see a male corpse?) "A few times—they were only friends. Just saw them and got an erection—never kissed them. With women in all cases kissed them before getting an erection."

The patient was asked the following questions to elicit his oral fixations: "When were you first attracted to the breast?" He replied, "After an aunt died—six years later (i. e., after mother's death). I started to have an erection then—got excited just looking at breast—it made me think of babyhood. I don't know if I were breast fed. I was wondering if I sucked breast—thinking about it caused erection—that is, about breast and my sucking breast as a baby." (When did you first see a female breast?) "At time I saw mother's body, i. e. at her death." (What do you think of breasts?) "I like them. I like to touch them. Touch them on bodies if I get a chance (i. e., if no one is looking)." (Why do you touch the breast?) "I don't know if I ever had the breast or not. I didn't even know my mother. Breast is soft. I like the touch."

An attempt was made to elicit the patient's associations to anal drives. To the question, are feces poisonous, he answered, "Sure, that's all it is, there are gases and things." (Dangerous?) "Sure, it's dangerous. If it doesn't come out—appendicitis is one of the results—(but) not dangerous to anyone else." (Which odors are most obnoxious?) "Foul odors—dead animals, anything decaying." (Mother's corpse?) "She must have been decaying. It was disgusting." The patient's collection of death notices is another example of his anal tendencies.

The following questions and replies illustrate the patient's infantile concepts of sexuality and reproduction: (Difference between men and women?) "One has got the male and the other the female organ. There are more organs in woman than in a man. Men haven't got breast part and ovaries where milk comes in—ovaries are on the breast. Instead of a penis, they have a womb—it's an opening—that's where the penis goes. (Where?) Between the two legs—around part where we have penis and testicle. (When did you first learn that woman did not have a penis?) "I saw an exhibit only lately at Rockefeller Center. I was surprised. I didn't know before. I knew she couldn't have a penis because when they urinate they sit down—it comes through the rectum." (When did you first learn about female sex?) "I never did. Only the part of my mother (i. e., corpse) that was exposed. I could only see upper part of her breasts—rest was bound up." (How are babies born?) "Through intercourse. Man puts penis in stomach—no below stomach—between legs. Must be a hole." (What is menstruation or periods?) "I think periods means change of life. I didn't know women bleed every month. Do you mean monthlies? Blood gets into womb—overflows

from somewhere. I think intercourse causes it." (Blood?) "It's a necessity. I don't mind looking at it, but not my own blood."

The patient's replies to questions concerning aggression are of some interest. (Would you like to dissect?) "I'd like to be a morgue attendant. It would cure me. Sure I want to be cured." (How would it cure?) "It would satisfy me." (What would you do if you were prevented from seeing corpses?) "I might lose control. It was a hobby. I wouldn't know what to do." (Might you kill if prevented?) "I might. I wouldn't say yes." (How?) "I might hit him. I wouldn't use a knife. I don't like the sight of blood. If I see my own blood it weakens me." (Would you kill an animal?) "No, it would only be someone who would interfere with my seeing bodies." (What would you do if court prevented you?) "I'd just masturbate. If I bathe myself I get an erection." (Afraid of being hurt?) "Oh sure—accidents, automobiles." (Which part of body is easiest to hurt?) "Hand I guess." (What impression do you want to make on people?) "I don't want them to be afraid of me." (Why should they be?) "Especially now with this case. I don't want any one frightened."

It is interesting to note that while being treated in the Mental Hygiene Clinic the patient had to have all his teeth extracted because of pyorrhea. He was very frightened and needed much reassurance to get him to go to the dentist. Again he told of his fear of seeing his own blood. He recalled that fifteen years ago he fainted when he injured his finger and saw the blood. His rationalization for the fear was his belief that he was a bleeder (which had no basis in reality). The patient was asked what was the difference between sleep and death and he replied, "No difference. One you come out of like a trance, the other you don't."

His associations to death were as follows: "It's the end of life. It's a mystery. No one can tell when it is coming. It gives no outward signs. It's same as beginning of life. It's an unseen power. The spirit is left. When I see a dead body the spirit is gone. If spirit were there there would be life." (Spirit?) "It's an unseen mystery." (Has it form?) "It might have." (How do you imagine it?) "A kind of object with a long narrow body—with a round head—long tapering body—dissolving away like." (Face?) "It would have a side view." (Why?) "Because it comes and goes—can't see it direct."

W. R. is sometimes stimulated by pictures. But these are pictures of deceased people taken when they were alive. He is not interested in pictures depicting gruesome accidents of men. He prefers a full face

pose to a side-view. It is interesting that the side-view is one that he connects with the spirit of death.

The patient's remorse when his mother died and his feelings of rejection when he learned that he was an adopted child, were aggravated because he was not legally free to receive the money his mother left. (What happened to the money mother left?) "I didn't get all of it. It came to Surrogate Court, the judge decided that most of it should go to them. One relative didn't want her share and she signed her part over to me. That was because I was adopted when I was four or five years old." (How did you feel about it?) "I didn't do anything about it. I didn't like the idea—my own money. It was money I had saved and my mother put it in the bank." (Did you hate them?) "No, after my mother died I had to stay with one of my aunts. It was all right until I lost my job. Then I was told I couldn't stay."

Although the patient insists that he only learned of his adoption after his mother's death, his aunt states, "My sister kept it a secret that he was adopted. But I kind of think he knew. He said to my boy that she wasn't his mother."

The patient was examined by two psychologists. One examined the patient on the prison ward. She found that he was of average intelligence with an I. Q. of 104 on the Bellevue Adult test. Her report on the Rorschach was as follows:

"There are no definite signs of an organic brain condition. Color responses are absent, but the increased productivity on the color cards indicates release. Time taken for the experiment as a whole is about normal, but amount of productivity shown is low. Sufficient popular responses are present to show that he is not out of contact with the environment but the presence of the bizarre responses above noted suggest a fantasy life with pathological aspects. There is a poverty of creativity and outwardly expressed affective life which results in deep inversion. The personality is that of an adynamic individual whose potentialities for outward expression are restricted; there is reason to suspect strong schizoid tendencies. He does not seem impulsive, while the strong trend toward inner living absorbs his affective life. The low organization ability enhances the impression intrapsychic constriction."

Another psychologist examined the patient in the Mental Hygiene Clinic. Her report is as follows:

"As reflected in his Rorschach protocol, this patient shows a very narrow and constricted emotional life. Although definitely drawn to outer stimuli; he is unable to incorporate them into his affective life to

any appreciable extent and his emotional needs find their outlet primarily in immature fantasy life. For most circumstances he has evolved a technique which has become so routinized as to result in stereotypy. This technique is the product of his anxiety, his need for evasiveness and an attempt to justify his atypical reaction to most situations. Under difficult circumstances his anxiety becomes prepotent and overshadows all his attempts at adjustment and rationalization. However, when the circumstances become very distracting and highly charged emotionally, his defenses give way and his infantile fantasy and inadequate attempts at social adaptation stand revealed.

"When asked to draw a man, patient made the type of figure frequently found in subjects with sexual difficulties, that is, an overemphasis on the body to the neglect of extremities. In addition he drew a man with his hand concealed in his pocket, a form of evasion frequently employed by masturbators. In this instance the patient first drew his man with a long arm, but gave him no hand. Had the hand been added it would, by nature of its position have become a substitute penis. The patient suddenly realized this, erased the arm, drew a shorter one, and concealed the hand in the pocket.

"On the Woodworth Personal Data Sheet, analysis of those questions which the patient failed to answer, namely, 'Were you shy with other boys?', 'Have you hurt yourself by masturbation?', 'Have you ever seen a vision?', 'Are you afraid of responsibilities?' and his affirmative response to the following questions, 'Do you feel tired most of the time?', 'Have you ever fainted away?', 'As a child did you like to play alone better than with other children?' and finally his negative response to the question, 'Did you ever make love to a girl?', all give a picture of an inadequate individual who is shy and withdrawn, makes social contacts with difficulty and has never made a heterosexual adjustment."

Diagnosis

Clinically the patient, who was of average intelligence and without psychosis, was classified as a psychopathic personality because of his perversion.

DISCUSSION

Dr. Brill in his recent paper⁽³⁾ summarized most of the literature on the subject. In addition to this, there are two other important source-

es which deal with the same subject. One is Ernest Jones' book,⁽²⁾ and the other, a paper by Marie Bonaparte.⁽⁴⁾

The reason for the dearth of literature on necrophilia is difficult to understand. It seems unlikely that the number of cases is as small as the absence of literature suggests. Dr. Brill suggests that perhaps there are more cases than is probably known and that possibly people dislike to report them because of the "abhorrent nature of this perversion."

Dr. Jones, in his book, suggests that necrophilia occurs in two forms. The more normal of the two, he says, appears to be little more than an extension of the part played by love in mourning. Bonaparte's paper deals with this type. Through a study of Edgar Allen Poe's life and his works, she showed that he suffered from this type of necrophilia. The well known cases of Sargeant Bertrand and Ardisson⁽¹⁾ are examples of the second or overt type of necrophilia. The case under discussion also falls into this latter category. In this type of necrophilia, Jones points out that, "The person attains gratification with any corpse, not that of a loved object, and he does so either by performing some kind of sexual act on the corpse, or, more characteristically, by biting, tearing and devouring the decaying flesh. It evidently signifies a reversion to the most primitive type of sadism, both of the oral and anal kind."

In this respect you will recall the repugnance the patient experienced on witnessing his dead mother because of the odor of decay, and his remark, told with irony, that of all the corpses he had ever seen, hers was the most repelling.

Dr. Brill, in discussing his patient's perversion relating to odor, states the following: "Whenever H spoke of eating dead bodies, he always used the word 'carriion' and invariably said something about the odor."

In discussing the anal sadistic drives of the necrophiliac, Jones makes a point of "the close association that is often found in the unconscious between the ideas of feces . . . and of any kind of decomposing material, particularly human corpses." In connection with this Melanie Klein⁽⁵⁾ points out that in early development because the introjected objects are still partial objects, the ego equates them with feces.

With regard to oral drives the patient recalled experiencing an erection on witnessing the dead body of an aunt. He remembers seeing the breast and wondered whether he was nursed as an infant. Prior to this, the last time he recalled seeing a breast was at the time his mother died. The case "H" described many fantasies of oral introjection connected with the breasts. Dr. Brill agreed with his necrophiliac pa-

tient's contention that the probable basis for his marked craving for the breast was the result of his lack of early gratification at the breast.

Of our patient's early life little is known. He was a foundling and was cared for in an orphanage until he was four years old. During that period, the institution, at best, could supply but a small fraction of the maternal love he probably craved. Whether he was depressed and had feelings of remorse at the time is impossible to ascertain. However, we do know that he was quite upset at the time of his mother's death, particularly when he discovered she was his foster mother, and because of the rejection by his mother's relatives and their attempt, in addition, to prevent him from receiving the money his mother left.

Ferenczi has stated (according to Lorand⁽⁶⁾) that the unwanted child shows a certain degree of emotional infantilism. Lorand make a further point that coupled with this infantilism is a resentment against the parents for having been brought into the world without being desired. Bender and Yarnell⁽⁷⁾ have found that children who have been institutionalized in their formative years frequently develop "behavior problems of very severe grade with infantile, hyperkinetic and asocial features, which are resistive to therapy and which we designate as the psychopathic personality of childhood."

The death of the patient's foster mother and the subsequent wrangling by the relatives over her estate, brought a conscious realization of his adoption. This unusual turn of events might have released the infantile aggressive drives which up to that time were apparently in abeyance.

However, the patient's necrophiliac tendencies followed his mother's death by a number of years. The possibility, therefore, suggests itself that the necrophilia was a reaction to the patient's period of mourning for his foster mother. It would perhaps be more accurate to describe this period of mourning for his foster mother as one of melancholia in which feelings concerned with his original loss of his own mother were reactivated. In other words, necrophilia, like the process of mania, is an attempt to overcome the loss of the object rather than to succumb to its loss. According to Freud⁽⁸⁾ what happens to the melancholic is "a regression from object-cathexis to the still narcissistic oral phase of the libido." And according to him, the maniac "... plainly shows us that he has become free from the object by whom his suffering was caused, for he runs after new object-cathexes like a starving man after bread." We are aware that Freud himself casts some doubt about the above, but we quote it because it helps to explain the craving for new objects as seen in our patient.

An interesting account of the narcissistic regression is given by Melanie Klein⁽⁵⁾: "Thus we may suppose that the process by which ego and ego-ideal come to coincide (as Freud has shown they do in mania) is as follows: The ego incorporates the object in a cannibalistic way (the 'feast' as Freud calls it in his account of mania) but denies that it feels any concern for it. 'Surely,' argues the ego, 'it is not a matter of such great importance if this particular object is destroyed. There are so many others to be incorporated.' *This disparagement of the object's importance and the contempt for it* is, I think, a specific characteristic of mania and enables the ego to effect that partial detachment which we observe side by side with its hunger for objects."

Certain aspects of the clinical picture, therefore, suggest a possible relation to the manic-depressive psychosis. From what we could ascertain directly from the patient there was little to suggest depressed features. Of course, he was withdrawn, timid and shy, which in themselves do not furnish sufficient evidence for a diagnosis of clinical depression. One might also suggest that the four year period spent in an orphanage might have engendered feelings of depression; this too we do not know. What we do know is that this individual who was already quite inhibited sexually, suddenly, a few years following the death of his foster mother—at a time when he was in his late thirties—began to seek out corpses to satisfy infantile sexual cravings. It is almost as if this flight from corpse to corpse satisfied feelings which were aroused at the time of his foster mother's death. It seems as if his infantile sexual drives replaced feelings of resentment against his relatives and remorse for his mother.

Consequently it appeared that the patient's necrophiliac tendencies satisfied at least some characteristics of mania. (1) It enabled him to express his contempt and disparagement of the former loved object: the object was dead, passive and could not retaliate. (2) It enabled the patient to satisfy his craving for new objects. (3) The instinctual drives which were satisfied were primitive in nature and of an oral and anal type. At any rate, the perversion, like a manic reaction, could serve to help the patient to free himself from his objects rather than to succumb to their loss.

CONCLUSION

A case of necrophilia was described in which the perversion followed six years after the death of the patient's foster mother. The pa-

tient was already in his late thirties when he began visiting corpses in funeral parlors. He would become sexually stimulated by either looking at the body, touching the breasts or kissing the lips. He would then wait until he returned home to masturbate. To account for the perversion an hypothesis is suggested that the perversion, like the manic defense in the manic-depressive psychosis, served to help the patient to overcome his loss of the object.

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CHANGING CONCEPTS OF CRIME*

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A. INTRODUCTION

The progress made by criminologists in the evaluation of criminality has been a long and interesting one. A brief review of the historical theories indicates that at the start the criminal was regarded as being the possessor of inborn vicious behavior. No one questioned the necessity for his immediate removal from society nor the degree of retribution imposed.

Perhaps the first systematic efforts for the selection of criminals was exercised by Lombroso in the year 1876. Through his investigations he concluded that criminals were substantially criminals at birth and that they could be recognized by certain characteristics, i. e., flattened nose, short beard, mild sensitivity to pain, etc.

With the turn of the century a more advanced outlook became apparent. The new concept was characterized by an analysis of the criminal status. The development of sociology led to the consideration of the criminal's environment and of the background of delinquency. In the Wickersham Study made of delinquency in the United States, the authors Shaw and McKay state:

"It has long been recognized that delinquency and crime are extremely complex forms of behavior and involve in their causations a great variety of contributing factors. A complete understanding of delinquent behavior necessitates a thorough study of both the individual and the social milieu to which he is responsive. Probably all factors, constitutional, mental, emotional and social contribute to delinquency and must be taken into consideration in the study and treatment of a given case."⁽¹⁰⁾

Glueck⁽⁵⁾ similarly pointed out that "numerous factors, various

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circumstances and uncontrollable forces either of psychological or social origin," as well as biological factors, have brought about the criminal's behavior.

Our present picture of criminality is then one of sympathy toward the underprivileged offender. As a result of this concept, we have been led to seek methods which would permit treating rather than punishing the criminal. Accordingly, our system of probation arose. By this device the court suspends its judgment pending due investigation to be made by the probation officer, an investigation concerned with the circumstances attendant on the offense, and with the personal and social history of the offender. It is upon these findings that this court officer attempts a prediction of the likely success of a probationary term for the delinquent or adult law violator.

Statistics generally show substantial savings in the matter of handling the criminal. Thus the Wickersham report cited the small cost of only \$29.00 to place a man on probation for one year as against \$228.13, the cost of a year's imprisonment. It is usually estimated that 70% of those placed on probation "succeed" under this type of supervision.

B. PRESENT EXTENT OF CRIME

There is no doubt but that much progress has been made since the days of Lombroso in the understanding and treatment of the crime problem. However great the improvement, we cannot say that we have gained an adequate insight into criminal behavior. The singular fact of recidivism being high, of continuous crime production not being reduced, tends to point towards such a failure. We need only to glance at several statistical results to confirm this statement.

Glueck's famous study, "500 Criminal Careers,"⁽⁵⁾ showed that almost four-fifths of the released prisoners had recommitted offenses. The growing proportions of crime are evidenced by the following reports:

1. In the first six months of 1933 a total of 273,000 sentenced prisoners were committed to county and municipal institutions in the United States, of which number 40.5 were female prisoners.* A total

* Report from Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., March 2, 1937. Statistics do not include figures for 55 counties.

of 65,723 prisoners were received by Federal and State prisons and reformatories.

2. The State of Illinois showed for the year 1935 a total of 6,068 offenses charged to its books, and Indiana in the same year had 17,368 offenses listed, excluding St. Joseph County.

3. On the basis of the Wickersham report, some 400,000 prisoners annually pass through the gates of our various institutions.

Michael and Adler⁽⁸⁾ in their very penetrating work on the problem of crime, having covered a wide range of fields, i. e., police and recreational work, probation, parole, statistical measures, individual case study methods, analysis of criminal laws and criminal justice, etc., were forced to conclude that there does not exist today any valid scientific knowledge of criminality nor of the effects of various types of treatment upon actual or potential offenders. They claim further that they did not find any concrete success in measures of prevention. The authors therefore contend that in the absence of such scientific knowledge, society remains helpless in its efforts to control crime. We cite here a few of their conclusions (P. 390):

"There is no scientific knowledge in the field of criminology. We have no knowledge of the causes of criminal behavior or of the effects of different modes and varieties of treatment upon actual or potential offenders or of the efficacy of programs and measures of prevention.

"In the absence of such knowledge we are and will continue to be impotent to control criminal behavior . . . The knowledge which has resulted from criminological research is knowledge descriptive of the characteristics of criminals and of their environments.

"This descriptive knowledge has little utility in the solution of the practical problem of controlling criminal behavior, either through programs of prevention or through the official treatment of offenders . . . It can be employed only in trial and error attempts to control criminal behavior and therefore has little practical value."

Criminologists will generally tend to protest such observations. It seems almost unbelievable that in the light of all the progress developed in the past quarter of a century in regard to the handling of the criminal population, we should have to admit total failure. However, this does appear to be the case. It is apparent that what progress has been achieved has been along two lines: (1) We have instituted the procedure of probation with its individual case study method in order to

provide the courts with a social picture of the individual offender, thereby allowing for a more objective handling of the case, and (2) we have promoted the out-of--prison type of supervision at a vast savings to the public and have sought to exercise reconstruction in lieu of retribution.

We have rightly steered away from the traditional course of imposing the Hedonic pleasure and pain principle upon the offender. Now we seek through the probation officer's social investigation to apprise the courts of the circumstances surrounding a given offender's violation of the law. Now we seek to inform the court of the special environmental factors which together have caused the criminal to undergo an underprivileged existence resulting in his present behavior, and we ask that the customary sentence be suspended to allow for the offender's possible rehabilitation under a supervisory program of probation.

All this has been heralded as being a most significant and humanitarian departure from the antiquated type of criminal justice. There is no doubt but that it does represent a constructive sort of effort; however, upon closer examination we shall find that such improvement is not a scientific advance but merely a humanitarian one. We have become more sympathetic, more helpful toward the criminal, but in reality we have failed properly to diagnose each individual case. We have totally failed in our analysis of criminality.

Criminologists generally cite remarkable success for those who have been placed on probation, the usual figure is 70% for those who have succeeded on probation. It appears convincing until one undertakes to evaluate the situation; then it becomes apparent that of all those who have made application for probation, usually 50% have been recommended for probation and this proportion represents the mild offender, the non-recidivist, and what might be termed the "accidental" offender.

The fact that 70% of this proportion is reported to succeed on probation in no way argues in favor of this system of supervision. When one recognizes the fact that probation departments have no facilities for individualized rehabilitation, it may be readily seen that with or without probationary supervision this 70% would have succeeded.

On the other hand, when we consider the other half of the applicants denied probation, we cannot escape the conclusion that here too, criminology has failed, since it deliberately avoids handling those with aggravated symptoms, chronic records, or difficult behavior patterns.

There is another striking fact which seems to indicate fully the

present inadequacies of criminology. The courts follow the evaluations contained in the probation officer's report, which renders a social picture of the defendant. Examination of the court reports reveals that they are almost entirely built upon the social work technique. In the past quarter of a century it has become increasingly evident that the value of social work as an instrument for the analysis of human conduct is delimited. As a measure for determining concrete situations, i. e., ecological factors, home surroundings, financial circumstances, etc., it possesses immense value. Stated otherwise, it might be said that social work technique belongs to the area involving relief and determination of relief. As an instrument for diagnosis of behavior disorders, it is for the most part unadaptable, owing to its superficial applications. Behavior cannot be analyzed by a mere collection of data. Analysis is more than that; it requires a sound causal relationship, a scientific evaluation which is characteristic of a natural science.

It is then to be observed that when the judge reads a court report, he is being directed towards a "social picture" of the defendant which, in effect, is a picture of the defendant's outward signs or effects. It tells whether he has been repeatedly in trouble, to what extent he drinks, to what degree he seems maladjusted; and it is upon this degree of chronicity that the granting of probation depends. Logically, all that can be said in favor of such a picture is that it represents a broad sociological survey of the defendant which tells the judge that the man is either good or bad. The analysis of the offender remains untouched. Thus it may be said that probation departments as well as prisons are literally files filled with "social pictures."

This identical social picture is reflected in the present day criminological interpretation of crime. We speak of crime as being the result of "numerous factors, various circumstances and uncontrollable forces either of psychological or social origin" all of which tells us nothing. It is this ambiguity which leaves us without a science of criminal behavior. It is exactly that which the probation officer gives to the court;—he posits all sorts of circumstances, history, sociological forces, etc., upon the case with the result that upon conclusion of it all, the court believes it sees how this man became a criminal. Yet nothing is entered into the report which specifically formulated the defendant's disorder; his symptoms become sociological rather than personal.

C. ANALYSIS OF BEHAVIOR

Despite all of our efforts to break away from the unscientific theory of "types," such as advanced by the Lombroso school, it becomes a regrettable fact that unknown to themselves criminologists are continuing to evaluate crime in the light of types. We are still laboring under the notion that the criminal is categorically different, if not in physiognomy, then at least in sociological or psychological differences. Of course, criminologists assume that the criminal comes out of our population, that basically he is one of us, but that sooner or later due to certain influences he merges into a distinct entity, that of the criminal. It is supposedly this separate entity that becomes the subject matter for study by the criminologist. We shall attempt a bit later to show the fallacy of this view. At the moment our interest is to turn toward an evaluation of behavior per se to determine what relationship there might exist between the conduct of the criminal and that of the "normal" individual.

The Psychiatric Clinic of the Court of General Sessions in New York has made an extensive study⁽³⁾ of 9,958 consecutive prisoners. It was found that only 18% were mentally abnormal (2.4% mentally defective, 1.5% psychotic, 6.9% psycho-neurotic), while 82% comprised the so-called "normal" individuals. It is further indicated that of this 82% normal group, 21% were further subdivided into "adjusted" while the remainder were classified as aggressive, anti-social, aggression released by alcohol, aggression in reaction to inferiority feelings, emotionally unstable, hysterical, swindler, unethical, shrewd, adolescent, adult immaturity, egocentric, shiftless, suggestible (submissive), dynamic or dull, nomadic, primitive, chronic alcoholic and organically unstable."

This study then clearly showed that but a very small percentage of the prisoners could be classified as mentally abnormal, whereas the remainder, supposedly "normal," comprised numerous forms of unhealthy personality reactions. From this study we may logically conclude that *a personality problem exists with every criminal.*

Entering into specific personality studies made of delinquent and non-delinquent boys, we report here the results of a battery of personality tests given to boys (delinquent) in the Indiana Boys School at Plainfield, Indiana, and to an unselected control group of boys in the Green Castle High School, Green Castle, Indiana. The conclusions reached showed that there were no essential differences between the

two groups as to mental ability, socio-economic status, general health, adjustments to life in groups other than to family and school, general range of interests, knowledge of accepted moral practices, and religious attitudes.⁽²⁾

A similar study has been made by Babcock⁽¹⁾ of delinquent and non-delinquent youths. In this experiment various personality tests were used among which were included the tests of Attitude, S-A, Sweet test of Personal Attitude in Young Boys, Rogers Test of Personal Adjustment for Boys, as well as various of the preservation tests of Stephenson. *The study concluded that there were no essential differences between the two groups.*

On the basis of the above studies it is evident that with the adult criminal population numerous personality problems are apparent; that whatever emotional problems were to be found in the delinquent boys group, a similar number could be located in the non-delinquent group, since the results of both of the juvenile studies revealed no essential differences between them.

The findings are in accord with the famous Hartshorne and May⁽⁶⁾ study of some ten thousand youths. This study required a period of five years. The authors introduced the doctrine of "Specificity" since in their experiment, which dealt with factors of self-control, honesty and service, they concluded that there exists no person who is completely honest or dishonest; behavior was found to consist of a history of specific responses to specific situations.

This is in line with the Behavioristic notion of conditioned responses. The Gestalt school of thought does, in effect, bring out a similar conclusion, since its experiments reveal that the human organism is constantly trying to protect itself to the best advantage in every situation, a process often referred to as "closure." From the psychoanalytic school we obtain similar findings, since it views the negative behavior responses as the product of specific conflicting situations in the life history of the person.

These negative "specifics" obviously reach quantitative proportions, and when they exist in very substantial degree, we have the serious criminal cases or other diverse behavior disorders, such as reported in the New York Clinic Study.

A very recent major study was undertaken by Thorpe, Clark and Tiegs⁽⁹⁾ to determine the behavior reactions of average youngsters. They made use of over a thousand specific situations of several hundred school children. Validity of the reactions was determined by experts in re-

search techniques, school administrators, teachers, and the children themselves. This California Test of Personality provides a profile of "Personal and Social Adjustment" comprising twelve components, or broad classifications of responses.*

The conclusions reached reveal that (a) behavior responses as shown by this study seem to be neither very specific nor to act as traits. In this regard, their findings agree with Hartshorne and May.⁽⁶⁾ The responses of the school children are characterized as tendencies to think, feel, and act, (b) emotionalized attitudes register in the cases of serious maladjustment, (c) responses appear to be the outcome of a variety of causes as the specific situation itself, related habits, subject's reactions toward himself, to his parents, towards the outside group. *Of particular significance here is their conclusion that the average child is not a consistently functioning organism; further, that the child's effort to maintain his security sometimes leads him into inconsistencies of behavior responses.* The value to criminology of this major experiment will perhaps become evident in the following study.

D. A PERSONALITY STUDY OF THE JUVENILE DELINQUENT AND HIS BROTHER

In view of the fact that the California Test of Personality embraces not a single factor of behavior but a wide perspective (profile) of personality responses, the writer⁽⁴⁾ applied it in a study of over one hundred juvenile delinquents and their non-delinquent brothers. The writer selected the brothers, since the experiment provided a situation wherein presumably heredity and environment were nearly alike.

The results of the experiment showed (1) that the emotional or social behavior of the delinquent group as a whole was no different from that of their non-delinquent brothers, as a whole, (2) comparison of norms of the delinquent group with those of the general outside population revealed no essential differences, not even the difference of the standard error itself, (3) severe personality disorders were found among the delinquents, but a similar number characterized their non-delinquent brothers.

The study was therefore an attempt to discover the reason for one boy coming into conflict with law while his brother remained a "non-delinquent." Since no essential personality differences were noted

* This test can be obtained at the California Test Bureau, Los Angeles, California.

amongst the two groups, it becomes apparent that it is not a separate psychological or sociological "entity" of the delinquent's personality which has brought on his delinquency. It is further evident that since both the general population and the delinquent population present equal amounts of emotional difficulties, it is then a specificity of response in the direction of the law that brings us the "delinquent."

In the non-delinquent brother there also exist inconsistencies of responses, in some instances of a greater severity than in the delinquent, but obviously the release of the inconsistency takes on another direction, i. e., daydreaming, mischief, withdrawal, negativeness, truancy, nervousness, etc.

Our principal difficulty, then, in the evaluation of delinquency or crime has been due to the fact that we have sought to impose upon these violators a distinct type of personality in order to account for their criminalism. It is evident from the studies cited here that what actually comes into court is a constant stream of personalities representing the average stuff out of which our population is composed. Among that delinquent group will be found no such special combination of psychological or sociological forces as claimed by our criminologists.

The average youth appearing before our juvenile courts is no different in personality structure from the average non-delinquent boy. His offense can hardly be termed a delinquency, since he possesses no special delinquency to account for his conduct. Obviously, it is the community which has the delinquency, owing to its inability to provide constructive recreational outlets.

On the other hand, when social agencies claim they have reduced delinquency greatly by the creation of recreational agencies, they are also working under a misapprehension. They have merely provided necessary outlets for healthy energies of the average court boy who in himself possesses no delinquency.

Our attention should then be directed against that small number of court cases which are characterized by actual delinquency of personality and whose deficiencies have been directly responsible for their violations of the law. Yet, even here we shall not find any peculiar combination of personality forces to permit us to classify these youthful offenders as "delinquents," or boy criminals. Our studies reveal an equal percentage of problem cases in the non-delinquent population. The question immediately arises as to why so much emphasis should be placed on the one singular avenue of expression. We believe that it is due to this lack of clarification of behavior which has made the study

of crime appear so confusing and has led to the characterization of crime as "the result of complex factors."

It is obvious that anything which is not understood appears at once as complex. Furthermore, it is clear that our inability to make scientific progress in the analysis of crime or criminal conduct is attributable to the fact that we continue to search for some nonexistent personality factor common to all delinquents and criminals. Since in certain situations criminals were found to be disordered either very mildly or not at all, and in other instances to possess all sorts of severe emotional eruptions, there developed the point of view that crime is a complex sort of thing.

It becomes therefore readily understandable why Michael and Adler, as a consequence of their painstaking research, needed to conclude that they found no scientific valid knowledge for the causes of criminal conduct and that in the absence of such necessary scientific knowledge "we will continue to be impotent to control crime."

The quandary in which criminologists have become involved is explainable by their unscientific use of the term "criminal." Metfessel⁽⁷⁾ in a rather recent article in the *Journal of General Psychology* aptly discusses this very question:

"Shall we use the word *criminal* to represent any individual entering at any time in a criminal relationship? If we should, it would mean that nearly all, if not all, human beings would qualify as criminals. However, if the same rule were applied in the use of trait names, probably every individual could be characterized by every trait name. At some time in life, it would appear that all adult individuals have entered into relationships that could be named by Allport and Orbert's list of 17,953 terms. If we were all criminals, we are all law abiding, and if we are all extroverted, we are all introverted, and if we are all dominant, we are all submissive."

We are thus inevitably led to the point where we have to get rid of the criminological quagmire of the identification of criminals by any sort of characterization.

E. THE NON-EXISTENCE OF CRIME

Michael and Adler merit extensive praise for their fearless conclusions that we have today no scientific insight into crime or criminal behavior. However, in their recommendations they venture the hope that an Institute of Criminology can be established which will have available such research facilities as to make possible the construction of

a science of criminology (P. 395). It is here that the authors lost sight of the problem of crime.

To appreciate the results of their research is to understand that, since we never possessed a proper slant on criminal behavior, we could not conceivably arrive at techniques for a successful handling of criminal behavior. Crime is after all nothing more than a symptom or an index of behavior. Criminality exists solely by virtue of its legal classification. There is no objective value to crime. Certainly every crime is an offense, but there are many other types of offenses against the person or State which we do not classify as crimes. Applying a certain classification or label to those offenses which constitute a violation of the law is perfectly permissible, but a specific set of offenses does not in turn create a different type of personality.

If stated otherwise, it may be said that because a person's conduct results in a definite infraction of the criminal law, such behavior does not automatically present him with a distinct type of personality subject to particular study by a particular group of people. Yet it is exactly that which we are ceaselessly seeking to accomplish, instituting various researches and specific facilities for handling violators of the law. We still try to understand the ways of the criminal. Even Michael and Adler, despite the thoroughness with which they dispel all past and present available techniques, recommend an "Institute of Criminology."

It is imperative that we completely alter our views as to the phenomenon of crime and cease to study it as a distinct entity. We shall never find it that way. Crime represents only one direction of a symptom, only one avenue of release for a frustration, blockage, inconsistent pattern of conduct, or for a negative response of the personality. Our difficulty has been that we have been reluctant to turn our attention away from the immediate phenomenon. We have stopped there. Whatever progress we have made has been solely with the symptom.

It is clear that a physician would get nowhere were all of his efforts directed toward the examination and treatment of the symptom. He would be expending futile efforts in treating his patient only in that locality where the ache was manifest, where the symptom appeared. Yet in the field of criminology it is exactly this upon which we are focusing all of our attention. The personality has a disturbance, it finds expression in a violation of the law, and it is here that we take up our analysis and treatment. We seek to learn why this person has come into conflict with the law. We call him a criminal, and the person who studies him, the criminologist. Extensive machinery is set up to per-

form research upon this particular phenomenon which is regarded as having a peculiar substance and form. It occupies a distinctive category. It calls for a new science.

At the same time literally millions of personalities have the same common ailment, but due to the X factor of constitution, circumstance, or inherent weakness, their behavior difficulties assume different symptoms and find their way into many other available mechanisms or channels. It is the same trouble, but the release is in another direction. In one case the inferiority is released by way of aggression through conflict with the law. This person is termed a criminal. In the other case, the inferiority finds its expression through a shut-in type of behavior leading to a progressive mental disease. Yet this latter individual is not considered a criminal and he is not within the scope of the criminologist.

In every case it is the personality that is troubled either to a slight or severe degree. The psychologist realizes that since the ego is dynamic and from infancy on yearns for expression, somehow, someway the personality must release that energy. In healthy situations it comes through conscious integrated behavior; in unhealthy personalities the energy is released through symptoms, some of which are by way of aggression and into direct conflict with the law.

The personality studies cited here experimentally establish this principle. The personality profiles of each subject delinquent or non-delinquent reveal symptoms in all directions; some find their way into mischief, truancy, delinquency, feelings of belonging, lack of self reliance or personal worth; others register their symptoms through neurotic pains, sexual irregularities, disturbed family relations, and in numerous other releases. It would then seem apparent that our concern must be directed more and more against the source of any disturbance, no matter what form its release takes.

If we consider delinquency as a single symptom of some personality disturbance, it becomes foolhardy to have courts and probation departments expend limitless effort on this single manifestation. We would then correspondingly need to erect many more "Institutes" for the study and handling of the thousands of other symptoms which appear in various directions. We would then require an "Institute" for every symptom.

Juvenile and adult criminal courts substantially predicate their judgment upon the extent of an offender's repeated violations of the law. It is customary to grant probation upon an initial and mild of-

fense, sometimes upon a second offense, but inevitably, both the probation departments and courts lose patience with the chronic offender; obviously the implication is that with all available opportunities rendered the offender for a successful adjustment, he is either too maladjusted or weak to respond to supervision.

This situation is a typical consequence of the superficialities of the "social picture" type of investigation or analysis currently in vogue in our court systems. Proper psychological analysis of the offender's personality will reveal the specific response that is out of order or "blocked up." This being the case, it is inevitable that the symptom should be a continuously functioning symptom, and whether probation is granted once or numerous times, it is expected that the uncontrollable symptom must continue to reappear.

We make this statement advisedly. Psychologically, we understand that in the case of any human being a symptom represents the best possible adjustment the organism was capable of making under given circumstances. It enables the personality to go on living. The symptom, then, is in place of the normal response to a situation which was too painful or too frustrating in character to have been fully assumed by the personality.

We further understand the symptom as being of a protective nature. All impulsiveness, anxieties, fears, are after all "warning manifestations" to the weakened organism which needs these symptoms in order to get along in life. On the basis of this dynamic process, we are able to recognize the inadequacies of the present type of probation system which offers to the weakened personality a program for normal adjustment, a course it does not want, despite the lasting freedom which is made available. It does not want it because to the neurotic or weakened personality immediate security is felt to be necessary, which the symptom is felt to provide. In this way the human organism finds in its symptom its only gratifying release.

We believe that to understand such psychodynamics is to understand why we have so many chronic violators and most particularly why four-fifths of the released prisoners return to prison as Glueck reports. In our efforts to seek out social adjustments for offenders we provide both a free outdoor probation system and a rigid indoor prison routine. Yet both of these procedures have miserably failed to cure the chronic "criminal," since we have offered reality adjustments to those whose first demands are for internal adjustment through vitally necessary expression of their symptoms.

There remains one more difficulty in our present day method of handling criminality. It would seem correct to say that the one chief aim of our criminologists and penologists is to stop crime. Our criterion for success is established at the point where the criminal has ceased to violate the law. Again we must note the failings of our present day quasi science of criminology. Again we must draw attention to the utter fallacy of calling an offense a crime and the absence of it, a non-crime.

We have sought to show here on the basis of psychological concepts that (1) there is no such separate entity as crime subject to isolated study, and (2) that an offense is an expression of a specific symptomatic act of no different character from any other symptom, i. e., overeating, extravagant spending, hypersexuality, inferiority, parsimony, jealousy, despondency, daydreaming, etc.

Now we have learned in the course of psychological observation that further repressions or fears will often in turn send a given symptom in another direction. Thus, a woman who has committed herself to discontinue her use of intoxicants and who has "succeeded" in her attempt, has only substituted a new symptom. The child is naughty, and several spankings have "succeeded" in totally submerging his undesirable behavior, but in effect through these superimposed fears, he was forced to develop new symptoms as a means of sustaining his ego. The law of "conservation of energy" applies as well to the human personality as to the field of physics.

The one-fifth of released prisoners who do not re-commit offenses can only be considered as having been so crushed mentally during their long prison stay as to have adopted a type of restraint which, although curbing further "crimes," now adds to the already frustrated personalities. The crime has stopped but the ego has increased its suffering. It will need to seek a way out in some other asocial outlet.

The most that we may therefore claim for the success of our present day criminological effort is that (1) it has so far had only one purpose in mind: to curb or to redirect the "criminal's" symptom, that now and then it has been able to accomplish this, and such blockage has become the standard of success; (2) obviously, it is not in the least a success of restoring mental health to the offender; the source of the offender's troubled personality remains untouched.

F. CONCLUSIONS

1. Criminology can never become a science as long as it limits its range to the offenses only which are violations of the law.

2. Juvenile delinquents should be classified in one of two categories: (1) those youths who are perfectly "normal" in their conduct and whose violations of the law are the result of delinquencies in the community which has provided no wholesome outlets, and (2) those youths who, on the whole, are also representative of the average population but whose specific deviations have found expression in the direct violation of the law.

3. Every adult "criminal" presents in one way or another a personality problem. His conduct is on the whole no different from the average personality in the outside population. His symptom finds its expression in a social area which happens to constitute a violation of the law.

4. The fact that a certain symptom migrates into a particular forbidden area does not in any way change the character of the symptom, nor would the symptom assume a different behavior if instead it had chosen another forbidden area in which to act.

5. We have entirely overemphasized the importance of undesirable acts of aggression termed "crimes." Equally as important, if not more so, are the aggressions in other social areas (psychoneuroses, psychoses, suicides, social incompatibility, psychophysical disorders, etc.)

6. We require no "Institute of Criminology."

7. The purpose of the courts and the probation departments should not be only for the eradication of "crimes" but for the initial analysis and treatment of the whole personality. The objective should be to understand the source of the emotional disruptions and for the reintegration of that source to make useless the organism's need to cling to symptoms. At all times it is the character structure which needs to be modified in order that the personality will be consciously able to utilize reality measures in place of the immediate internal measures for security.

8. The probation departments should be extended to allow for such adequately scientific measures to be employed both as to the scope of analysis and as to the treatment of the individual.

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THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF PRISONS, AND THE ORGANIC TENSIONS

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Laramie, Wyoming*

INTRODUCTION

The data presented in Part I. were obtained by M. C. Moos, whose study of the penal system of Alabama was made possible by the Rockefeller Foundation. He also wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to the officials of the Alabama penal system and to Dr. Roscoe C. Martin of the University of Alabama, and in particular to Mr. Bruce Airey, Director of Classification, without whose generous cooperation his research work would have been impossible.

Part II., devoted to theory, was written by the senior author, in collaboration with the co-author.

Case No. 1 "Boots". Age 23, single, male, forgery 2nd. Family history negative. spent most of his life in rural district in Alabama doing farmwork. At the age of 15, he was sentenced to the Boy's Industrial School of that State for failure to attend school. He worked in the printing office of the institution and played in the institution band. In 1937 he burglarized a store and served a sentence for this offense in Kilby Prison, Alabama. Following his parole he led a vagrant existence and the present offense followed the passing of forged checks on various merchants in Mobile. He had an I. Q. of 89 and was classified as borderline defective.

Case No. 2. "Bill" Age 21, white, male, single. Family history uneventful. Inmate with two brothers was committed to an orphan asylum in Alabama following the death of the father when the subject was 8 years of age. He was released into the custody of his grandfather in less than a year's time and grew up with a conspicuous absence of discipline. He became a very definite product of a broken home, the whereabouts of his mother being unknown. He was permitted to go very much his own way and indulged excessively in alcohol which played a part in his prison records. Previous offenses indicate a servitude in the Russell County Jail for Burglary and Grand Larceny and later incarceration in Mercer, Pennsylvania, with violation of parole. The present offense consists of the armed robbery of a grocery store in Phenix City, Alabama. The Director of Classification of Kilby Prison characterizes the inmate as being a rather philosophical sort of person, unemotional and rational in his actions. The inmate has a mental age of 15.10 and is considered of normal intelligence.

Early in 1942 prison officials of the Alabama penal system were confronted with one of the most serious prison homosexuality problems

ever to come to their attention. The incident involved two young white males, whose case histories are here given. As the two letters, quoted in full, indicate, the social relationship between these two prisoners culminated in homosexual relationships.

The event which prompted the writing of these letters was the punishment of "Bill" for destroying \$400.00 worth of machinery in the cotton mill of Draper Prison. This act of sabotage was motivated by Bill's desire to be returned to Kilby Prison, where his lover "Boots" is incarcerated. Bill's destructive act was punished by a whipping of fifteen "licks." The following letters were written shortly after the whipping took place and were intercepted by the warden:

Letter from Boots to Bill

Thurs. Night

Jan. 29, 1942.

Hello Darling:

Will write you a few more lines as to let you hear from me, and that I'm still thinking only of you. I just got through writing a letter to mother and I told her to write to Col. Persons to see if I couldn't get back to Kilby, and Darling what I told her about this place was plenty. I told her to distroy the letter as soon as she was through reading it. Honey I guess you heard about me getting hell whipped out of me the other night. Well honey I tore up just some of the damn stuff in the mill, and thats what they whipped me for, but I didn't give a damn, so honey I want you to send me that address where you said I could go to when I get out, because I'm sure as hell leaving before long if you don't get to come over here, but darling I don't think there's any use in you getting into trouble just to be with me. because honey I don't think I'm even worth that much trouble for you, for I feel low as hell when I let these damn people do me the way they are doing me now, Darling every time I write a line, I have to stop and wipe the tears out of my eyes so I can see to write. Darling you don't know how much this hurts me. Well darling they gave me 15 licks and you don't know how it did hurt me all that night. It didn't hurt so bad while they were putting it on but boy, I liked to went away from here about midnight that night, because my heart bothered me very much. But Sweet if I don't get to see you before long, I'll just run away, and if I should get shot and die Darling you can

say that I tried to be with you, for that's the only reason that I'll run for, so may be that I can be with you out there because you are the only one I love, So honey it looks like I've got a broken heart that will never get to be mended together any more, for everything goes wrong with me, so darling if I can't be with you pretty soon I'll probably have my mind made up to just go ahead and kill my self and get it all over with. because life isn't worth living without you. I guess that sounds silly, but darling I really meant it. Honey I know darn well I'm going crazy, and if I don't do some thing soon about seeing you or getting away, I swear I'll kill myself before I stay here two more months. Darling if I didn't kill myself I would grieve myself to death. so it looks like poor little me is just in tough luck. Darling I can't stand this any longer and if they don't let me come back before long, I'll just walk out there and start a fight with a screw until I get the whole damn bunch out there and then I'll kill one so that I know that they will kill me and get it over with, for I had rather die fighting than any other way. So Darling I guess I'll have to stop for the lights are out, yours forever,

Boots XXXX

I love you only Bill Darling.

Letter from Bill to Boots

*Friday Morning

Good morning Darling;

I cannot express in writing the sacrifice you did for me and just how much it means to me to know that you think that much of me, for in my heart and mind it was one of the finest gestures you could have done to prove it.

I realise the untold misery you have been put through and if there is any way to make some one pay for it they are going to pay dearly, Boots I wrote you a letter yesterday did you get it I hear they will not work you in the mill anymore so if you can't get back here you have the satisfaction of knowing that you at least beat the mill, Boots I can get a transfer to Atmore but they told me under no circumstances would they send me to Draper, for they think I want to come over there for revenge or something, I undersand there will be a chain going from there to Atmore some-

time this week or next and if you can find out that you are going then let me know as quick as possible so I can make arrangements to go too.

Darling my mind is in a fog I dont know what to do so please let me know something as quick as you can, for just as sure as I stay here I must kill some one or get killed, and I myself, without you had just as soon be dead, for Boy you meant more to me than anything else I have ever been in contact with in my life. Boots I love you and I hope the whipping they gave you will only give you the courage and determination to go on and dont give up keep your chin up I dont know this is a hard thing to do in the face of what you have been through but as sure as there is a God in heaven we will be together again and it won't be so long.

They sent six of the boys from there back here and put them in the hole, I haven't been able to talk with them one of them yelled for me yesterday but I could not understand what he said, so if you told any of them to tell me anything then you can write it to me. Dearest; I know how you feel as if you haven't a friend in the world but you will find out as long as breath stays in my body then I will be with you mentally if not physically for I must be with you and if I let you down it would be the lousest, dirtiest trick, that could ever be and I am not cut out that way. Baby I have told you many times that I would chop a man's head off about you and if that is what it takes then somebody's head is coming off.

Darling I know fully that you love me and I love you just as much or more and somehow there will be a way for us to be with each other, Boots the Warden here has been fishing the past week He is supposed to be in tomorrow and you can bet your life I am going to see him, in some way, I don't care how darling, dont feel bad now even though you are sore in mind and body for if I had to do the same things you done I would do them with a smile, if you say so I will show you that I mean it too Boots, did you get my picture I sent you I am glad now that I did give it to you for when you feel like there is no one you can trust then take it out and look at it, and say to yourself here is some one that loves me more than anything else in the world and who would give his right arm for anything that will benefit me and that his love fore me will never die even though we are apart.

Boots dont cry now for keep your chin up and smile if possible its hard Baby but it is the only way to show these people you

mean what you say, and if you cannot take any more grit your teeth and smile, and say every dog has hisday and yours is coming sometime so Boots with my love to you and praying to see you soon, I will send you some money today if the truck comes in so hoping to hear from you soon, again with all my Love and best wishes to you.

Goodbye Darling; and answer soon,

I love you Bill

The path of the student of prison homosexuality is beset with many difficulties, existential, theoretical and practical.

While numerous indeed, the practical difficulties are perhaps the least serious ones, and success in overcoming them depends primarily on skill in interviewing, and on a certain measure of humaneness which does not repudiate anything human. Hence we shall give only brief mention to a few outstanding difficulties. The selection is more or less arbitrary, and has a purely heuristic value.

(a) The social distance between interviewer and prisoner is an obstacle to communication.

(b) Prison officials, anxious to preserve the "fair name" of their administration are sometimes uncooperative.

(c) Prison regulations against homosexual behavior are responsible for secretiveness both in the homosexual and in his fellow prisoners, who do not wish to be known as stool-pigeons.

(d) The prisoner is aware of social prejudice against homosexual behavior, and does not wish to jeopardize his chances of a parole by confessing to homosexual conduct.

Existential factors further diminish the student's insight into prison-homosexuality. In his investigation he is confronted with a triad of factors: crime, sexual perversion and an abnormal social situation, which necessarily impair and limit his insight. In psychoanalytic parlance we might say that whereas the super-ego attempts to repudiate identification with the subjects under study, the id attempts to exaggerate identification. The result is generally and affectively colored and distorted reflection of the real situation.

The theoretical difficulties are threefold: At present there exists no

satisfactory theory either of homosexuality, or of crime, or of atypical social situations.

In view of these difficulties, the preliminary and tentative character of the present study is given explicit recognition. It is set up not as an achievement, but rather a target to shoot at.

Properly speaking, we have no theoretical, but only a methodological position. We shall attempt to avoid two basic attitudes: The formative and the *laissez-faire*. We do not *start* with the assumption that "something ought to be done about" prison homosexuality, nor do we concede defeat at the outset by stating that prison homosexuality is a necessary component of the situation. In brief, we shall attempt to avoid the Scylla of reformist self-righteousness as well as the Charybdis of invertebrate "reality acceptance," so-called.

THE GENERAL THEORY

Existing interpretations of prison homosexuality are unsatisfactory. It is our thesis that the two facts:

- (a) That prison populations are unisexual, and
- (b) That normal heterosexual outlets are unavailable to the *average* prisoner, are a precipitating condition, rather than a *causa causans* of prison homosexuality. In particular we told that the analogy between prison homosexuality and the homosexual behavior of sexually segregated animals is entirely misleading. We feel that the analogy is fallacious, because:
 - (a) Prison homosexuality is not a universal phenomenon.
 - (b) There exists other unisexual groups—some voluntary like monasteries, some more or less involuntary, like armies—in which homosexual behavior is either at a minimum, or else absent.

The homosexuality of sailors is a more or less widely accepted fiction. Yet there is every indication that in our times the homosexuality of sailors is at an all-time low. Superficially this decrease may be attributed to two causes:

- (a) Steam navigation has decreased the length of periods spent on the high seas without touching the shore, and

(b) Today's sailors are less and less frequently ruffians, and increasingly similar to a cross-section of the same age-sex group in the average population.

More particularly we wish to stress the fact that segregation under atypical conditions—also obtaining in monasteries—and due to causes independent of the will of the members—also true of draft armies, particularly in peacetime—is but one of the factors responsible for homosexual behavior in prisons. Other factors seem to be far more important in this respect.

We are now prepared to consider some of the factors:

I. *Social Segregation.* In contradistinction to monasteries and armies, the prison population is formally as well as practically differentiated from the civilian population. There is no need to deny that monasteries and armies are also differentiated from the social body, but this differentiation has three distinctive aspects:

- (a) It is, in theory at least, a honorific differentiation.
- (b) It is a preponderantly voluntary differentiation on the part of the differentiated group.
- (c) It is a goal-directed differentiation, the goal being set up by the differentiated group itself, and for the group *as a whole*.

By way of contrast, the situation of the prison population is entirely different:

- (a) It is an invidious differentiation.
- (b) It is an involuntary differentiation, i. e. a dissociative and negative one, as far as the prisoners are concerned.
- (c) It is strictly speaking not a goal-directed differentiation. The goal is set up by society, rather than by the subgroup. The goals of the prisoners are furthermore:

- (1). Individual rather than collective (i. e. release).
- (2). Post-date differentiation, and are determined by this differentiation. (One does not *go* to prison in order to be released, but wished to be released *because* one is already in prison).

The validity of these strictures is reinforced by an analysis of data concerning indentured native labor in Papua, British New Guinea. Natives working occasionally for Whites are paid in tobacco-sticks, which are used locally as fractional currency. They have no other means of obtaining regular currency to pay cash-taxes, not redeemable through labor on public work projects as in French Indo China. These cash-taxes are imposed on the natives for the purpose of compelling them to become indentured laborers on plantations, so as to earn money for taxes. This technique of taxation for the purpose of labor recruiting is widely used in British colonies and protectorates.⁽¹⁾ The personal profit to the indentured laborer tends to be slight. According to Thurnwald, when certain Melanesians go abroad to work, they must, on their return, distribute their earnings in their village, which, during their absence, was deprived of their services on collective undertakings.⁽²⁾ Last of all, the indentured workers are herded together in unisexual groups.

Given the fact that natives are loath to go abroad,⁽³⁾ it is easy to understand why the indentured group tends to become demoralized. They are segregated from their habitual social world through the use of indirect pressure (taxation) and are thus outside and beyond the controlling force of the in-group. On some plantations they are provided with native prostitutes⁽⁴⁾ whereas on other plantations homosexual behavior is their only outlet. Admitting that New Guinea natives tend to indulge on special occasions in formal homosexuality,⁽⁵⁾ the informal homosexuality of indentured laborers resembles in every respect the "demoralization-homosexuality" of prisoners.

Putting it ever more bluntly: the prisoner is legally dead and the indentured native is socially dead. As to the deported native prisoner, he is, if we may use that expression, twice dead. In Papua native prisoners time and again asked to be sentenced to death instead of to deportation.⁽⁶⁾ The French adage: "*Partir c'est mourir un peu*" also reflects this view. In brief, the prisoner is, in some respects, "socially dead," and hence no longer subject to rules of conduct applicable to the living. It must be understood of course that the term "living," as used in this context, is a social, rather than a medical concept. Its use in this special sense is entirely justified. In our society those absent for seven years can be declared "legally dead," while in primitive society we time and again meet people who are treated as "dead," because, even though they seem in perfect health "they ought to be dead."⁽⁷⁾ Such "socially dead" natives often die of shock. The endocrine and physiological causes of these deaths have been analysed in so satisfactory a manner by Cannon⁽⁸⁾

that the reality of these phenomena, first reported by medically untrained anthropologists, can no longer be doubted. Finally, we might once more refer in this context to the psychic unreality of death, which one of us analysed in another context.⁽⁹⁾

The reality of this social isolation is perhaps best reflected in the fact that prison-homosexuality seems to be more prevalent among the long-sentence than among the short-sentence group, due allowance being made for the fact that many of the young prisoners, regardless of the length of their sentence, are forcibly impressed into homosexual services by older "prison-wolves."

The dissociation of prison society from normal society is clearly manifest in the change of sex status imputed to young prisoners, and reflected in such designations as "flaming bitch" and "fuck-gal."

According to Linton⁽¹⁰⁾ sex-linked status is one of the basic features of any social structure. Linton furthermore emphasizes that sex-status is "ascribed" rather than "achieved." While this statement is generally valid, we find that in certain Indian societies, e. g., the Mohave⁽¹¹⁾ sex-linked status is sometimes an achieved one, i. e., the male transvestite is permitted to claim female social status, and vice versa.

Summing up, the very fact that prison society is "beyond the pale," decreases the social impact of usual norms of conduct, and promotes the establishing of differential mores, in sexual conduct as well as in conduct in general. The more isolated the prisoner feels, either because of the length of his sentence or because of his previous social integration, the more likely it is that he will engage in various forms of atypical behavior in prison, of which homosexuality is but one.

Imprisonment even bridges racial antagonisms. One of us reported elsewhere the case of a Mohave Indian who engaged in homosexual practices with a white fellow prisoner.⁽¹²⁾ The Mohave do not object to passive homosexuality in official transvestites, but ridicule their "normal" active "spouses" and even more so passive homosexuality in unofficial homosexuals. Yet this Mohave prisoner engaged both in active and passive homosexuality. The same article also analyzes homosexual behavior among Indian school children.

II. *Defense against Isolation.* In addition to the social isolation of the prisoner group as a whole, we must consider the factor of person to person dissociation, including the chasm between staff and the prisoners. The staff encourages the broadening of this chasm, as well as dissociative tendencies between prisoners, since it simplifies the enforcing of

prison routine. Actually the attempt to discourage close relationships between prisoners is successful only in the particular, but not in general, since the prisoner group is negatively integrated through joint opposition to the staff. It can be stated as a general principle that it is psychologically impossible to promote simultaneously dissociation between prisoners on the one hand, and to broaden the gap between prisoners and staff on the other, quite apart from the fact that such attempts are disastrous as far as the re-socialization of the prisoner is concerned.

Be that as it may, our penal system affords the prisoner few opportunities to manifest the "residue of sociality,"⁽¹³⁾ since he is compelled to participate mainly in what Parsons calls "functionally specific"⁽¹⁴⁾ and affectively neutral relationships. Thus the formation of intense "functionally diffuse" relationships is a necessity, due to the amount of unexpended libido, which cannot be expended in functionally specific relationships.⁽¹⁵⁾ Passionate lovers are essentially a-social, because no libido is available for broader social investments.⁽¹⁶⁾ Prisoners are compelled to be a-social, and hence turn into passionate lovers, killing and taking grave risks for the object of their love. This trend is illustrated by our case material. There is simply no other avenue of escape for the prisoner, unless psychosis is considered as an escape. According to Freud unexpended "free floating" libido is a source of severe psychic strain,⁽¹⁷⁾ and the prisoner copes with this strain by investing libido in an accessible love-object: a fellow prisoner. The possibility of the equivalent of "school girl crushes on the teacher" is excluded by the sedulously broadened social chasm between staff and prisoners.

So far we have merely show the prisoner's need for opportunities of intensive affective investments. The question arises: Why does this affective investment have to take a sexual form? (As may be inferred from the very fact that we ask this question, we repudiate the Freudian tendency to equate—not to say confuse—sexuality and affectivity in interpersonal relations).

The explanation of this phenomenon must be sought not in the prison world, but in a general characteristic of our own society. Psychoanalytic theory has merely sanctioned in scientific language the general tendency of *Western* civilization to conceive of intense interpersonal relationships in sexual terms. This statement explains why the prisoner confuses sexuality with affective relationships, but does not explain why Western society does so. This broader question is so complex that we cannot attempt to answer it in this context, except with regard to a single phenomenon which has a special bearing on prisoner problems. The

fact that prisoners take their cut from normal society in *any* respect need not puzzle us, since one of us⁽¹⁸⁾ has shown elsewhere that actual conduct in social negativism is frequently negatively conditioned by, and symmetrical to normal conduct. The progressive socialization of the child amongst ourselves consists partly in the diminishing of the ratio between functionally diffuse and functionally specific relationships, the latter becoming more and more predominant. As a result infantile behavior tends to be associated with functionally diffuse relationships, one such form of infantile behavior being the complex of diffuse cutaneous stimulation, the tendency to physical manipulation of love objects, and baby talk, or at least inarticulate mysticism and emotionality. With special reference to the prisoner, we need only refer to what has been said above with regard to the prevalence of functionally specific relationships in prison, to enable us to understand that prison homosexuality is functionally connected with the socially regressive phases of the culturally under-implemented functionally-diffuse relationships. In simpler terms: affection between prisoners turns into homosexual behavior, because our society has deliberately neglected to bring affection in line with rationally elaborated and systematized conduct. Prison homosexuality is not infantile because homosexuality in general is reputed to be infantile, but because affectivity in Western society was permitted to remain associated with infantile conduct: pawing, random eroticism and verbal games.

The problem of general regression in prison will be considered further below.

Other factors at work in transforming affection into sexuality, or creating an association between the two, are also found in normal society. Intimate relationships tend to become sexualized in situations poor in stimulus-content, i. e., sex activity engaged in from sheer boredom. Random sexuality tends to assume a broad scope among persons with few internal resources, among people who know of no other way in which they could manifest affection and sociality, among inarticulate people whom "words always fail" in situations of stress, and who must hence invariably resort in such situations to "motor language": pawing, lashing-out, etc.

The sex act in prison is often compensatory: It compensates the prisoner for the lack of variation in daily routine, for the absence of thrills and of new experience, etc. It is also a forceful affirmation of the self: It is a sociable gesture,⁽¹⁹⁾ a powerful gesture of spontaneity and an affirmation of the undiminished integrity of the self. It should be

noted that other opportunities to manifest these psychic states and needs are conspicuously lacking in prison, as are opportunities of finding pleasure of any kind. In brief, sex behavior in prison is a substitute for baseball and marriage and movies and bragging and friendship and success, a substitute for anything and everything that makes life worthwhile.

The sex act offers still another attraction to the active partner. I refer to the sense of power and of domination, constantly denied to the prisoner. There is a deepgoing similarity between rape and the prison homosexuality of the strong older "wolves"—the very term applied to them being suggestive of power, outlawry and violence, i. e., of modes of behavior inhibited in prison. In this sense prison homosexuality is a substitute for interrupted careers of violence, quite apart from the fact that "fighting for ones 'gal'" affords welcome and "legitimate" excuses for using violence on potential rivals.

To the passive partner prison homosexuality affords opportunities for masochistic satisfaction, for submission and plastic behavior, as well as satisfaction of the need for dependence, for unearned privileges, protection, etc., the dependence pattern being probably the most significant, provided that it is understood in Kardiner's sense.⁽²⁰⁾

III. *The Problem of Homosexual Etiquette.* One of the truly interesting phases of the problem of prison homosexuality is the socially sanctioned pattern of interaction between homosexual partners, and between the pair and the group. This conduct is, by and large, patterned on the "lofty" aspects of normal Western sex-life. Men fight for their "gals" to death, and the victim of slashings as well as the prisoner group tends to protect the man who fought for his "gal"—and even, shades of chivalry,¹ the would-be intruder, if he is successful. The whole situation can be analyzed in terms of Davis' study of jealousy,⁽²¹⁾ and hence need not be discussed in detail. In the same vein the 'male' is expected to protect, and to grant many favors to, his 'gal,' from candy to money, from narcotics to alibis. Prison homosexuality is a living illustration of what Burgess has aptly called the "romantic fallacy,"⁽²²⁾ more so perhaps than even romantic involvements in normal society. The ethics of the whole situation are on the "highest" and most non-sensical level of dereistic chivalry, and the participants in the situation derive a great deal of pride from the loftiness of their motives, the greatness of their sacrifices, etc.

It can be asserted that a very elaborate sex code has been developed in prison, and governs homosexual relations quite as rigorously as our

own codes govern boy and girl loves. From the "conquest" of the newly arrived potential "gal"—the equivalent of primitive bride-stealing, or the primitive division of human spoils, to the "breaking in" of the often reluctant "gal"—reminiscent of peasant customs, up to the moments of dramatic partings, and including strict monogamy, we find in prison homosexuality an image of our own sex mores which is less distorted than we would like to think. This view is quite in accord with the widely held conception that the criminal is like the normal man, "only more so."

IV. *The Problem of Regression and Infantilism.* Before discussing this problem, it would be well to remind the reader of the fact that we are not discussing "criminals," but "prisoners," which is something entirely different, since it is well known that the prison population is by no means a cross section and representative sample of the total lawbreaking population.

It may be stated in general terms that a complete development of the personality is contingent upon two factors:

(a) A rich and varied environment, offering constant challenges, many satisfactions and an adequate measure of security to insure the growth of a personality free from uncreative anxiety.

(b) Opportunities for spontaneity, i. e., for what Fromm⁽²³⁾ calls "freedom to," and MacLeish calls "freedom for."

The prison environment is, however, by definition and by purpose, the exact reverse of such an environment and devoid of such opportunities. It contains only elements of "freedom from" (i. e., from hunger, etc.) and is singularly poor in stimuli. On the other hand it is rich in the two types of major frustrations: deprivation and ego-threats,⁽²⁴⁾ of which only the second has real constructive value, and then only when applied in a strictly scientific manner.

In brief, nearly all criteria which, according to Miller and Dollard,⁽²⁵⁾ make for social learning, are absent in prison. Like totalitarian educational systems, prisons promote not mature sociality, but what Fromm⁽²⁶⁾ aptly calls "sado-masochistic" conformity. (The presence of the sado-masochistic elements in prison homosexuality, disguised as romantic chivalry, has been described above). One might almost say that prisons are a social conspiracy to educate anti-social and a-social beings.

Summing up, the stimulus-poverty of prison life and the lack of opportunities for spontaneity force the prisoner to:

- (a) Seek new experience and other thrills in homosexuality.
- (b) Regress to sado-masochistic automatism and infantilism.

One component of this infantile pattern is homosexuality, not, of course, in the sense of Freud's "polymorphous perverseness," but in the sense discussed above in connection with the social infantilization of affective relationships.

V. *Social Stratification.* Homosexuality as a means of promoting social stratification is obviously resorted to by prisoners. We have on the one hand the high status of those able to command the services of a "gal," and on the other hand the derived prestige (or power) of the parasitical "gal," protected by a powerful inmate. Next, as in the baboon family⁽²⁷⁾ we have the potential "wolves," and the "bachelor" hanger-on who either challenges the prisoner who has a "gal," or else expects to secure a "gal" from the next group of incoming prisoners. Last of all we have the hopeless, neither strong enough for the position of a "wolf," nor eligible for the role of a protected "gal." As noted above in connection with "etiquette," the "wolf," through the presence of the parasitical "gal" on the one hand, and the constant challenge of potential rivals, is afforded many opportunities for behavior which, in Veblen-ian terms⁽²⁸⁾ must be classified as "exploits": knifing, fighting, protecting one's "gal," etc.

The situation has several characteristics worthy of note:

- (a) The "exploit" is a true Veblenian exploit. It gives prestige, though it is not useful to the prison community, in any sense which we may wish to assign to the term "usefulness" (including the planning of escapes, the starting of prison riots, etc., as well as constructive work).
- (b) It partakes of all the characteristics of "charismatic leadership," in the strictly Weber-ian sense, including the presence of parasites, (i. e., "gals") whose derived social status is entirely dependent on the favor of the wolves.
- (c) It satisfies the need for "prestige," though the prestige in question is—from the viewpoint of society—a negative one. The gesture of homo-

sexuality is attractive precisely because it satisfies a need which one of us has termed social negativism.⁽²⁹⁾ In brief, homosexual behavior is attractive because it is one way of violating the mores, even though one is in prison.

VI. *Social Negativism.* As one of us pointed out in a previous paper, imprisonment does not decrease, but rather increases the prisoner's inner compulsion to commit anti-social acts. The opportunity for anti-social behavior is, however, greatly restricted in prison, by:

- (a) The interference of guards and officials, and
- (b) The formation of an incipient and nuclear society among prisoners.

The first factor is too obvious to stand in need of discussion. The second factor does, however, call for some further comment. Granted that the "underworld" is, in many respects, an authentic, if marginal society, prison society differs from the underworld in many respects, only some of which can be mentioned:

- (a) Isolation from the social world populated by the criminal's victims.
- (b) Constant supervision by controlling agencies.
- (c) The near impossibility of imitating, even superficially, the living condition of "civilians," and the resultant need for a type of social structure compatible with the physical and other aspects of prison life.
- (d) The near-impossibility of living in a structure-less group indefinitely (cf. the tendency of mobs to turn into organized groups).
- (e) The need for routine, which protects the individual's limited energy supply, which is rapidly dissipated in routine-less life through the need for constant improvisation.
- (f) Generalizing (d) and (e) we may say that custom protects the group against the individual, and habit protects the individual against the group. (There is a need for predictability of response in a group composed of human beings, whose expressive behavior is, according to the best psychological evidence available,⁽³⁰⁾ equivocal and nearly useless for purposes of protection, unless it is (a) either standardized, as in silent moving pictures, or else (b) replaced by badges and regalia).

(g) The presence of numerous "first offenders" and of other prisoners who, though criminal, are not, and have never been, members of the underworld (i. e., white-collar criminals, etc.).

According to the general principles formulated in the aforementioned paper on social negativism, the criminal world also has its rules, which are negatively determined by the mores of the social world: i. e., they tend to be the opposite, or else they tend to be a contextually displaced version, of the mores of society at large. The first trend (outright negativism) is present in the underworld's emphasis upon criminal conduct, and the second (displaced imitation) is represented by such phenomena as the prestige to be gained from "pulling a big job," or the imitation of "romantic chivalry" in prison homosexuality.

In view of the physical restraint and constant supervision confronting the prisoner, prison homosexuality, as suggested above, provides a suitable outlet for social negativism. It is a means of rebellion against prison rules, a declaration of defiance—one is tempted to say of independence. It is a substitute for risky rebellions, for prison breaks etc., and, within the constraint imposed upon the prisoner's behavior, a profession of faith that

"I am the master of my fate,
I am the captain of my soul."

VII. *The Gesture.* The above considerations may, perhaps, be summed up by claiming that, in part at least, prison homosexuality partakes of the character of "beau geste." The fact that homosexual behavior can and does acquire in prison this aura, suggests that prison society is, in many respects, a singularly archaic one. This view is greatly strengthened by the brilliant analysis of Weinberg.⁽³¹⁾

A society in which gestures, not merely homosexual, but of any kind, are one of the means of gaining prestige and one of the cornerstones of the value system, reminds one of the social structure of the dark ages, which also combined glamour, infantilism and sordidness. If we recall that, according to excellent psychoanalytic evidence⁽³²⁾ the prison appeals to the neurotic as a means of expiation and as a haven of refuge, then perhaps we can understand why homosexuality is so prevalent⁽³³⁾ in Nazidom, that Great Prison Society, which holds such fascination for the infantile and the neurotic.

Those prisoners who are on the "outside" of these practices, and

those who still have extramural affective investments (e. g., wives), naturally abhor these practices—at least verbally—and assert that they could never face their wives after engaging in such activities. This last clause suggests that the speakers must have been relatively short sentence prisoners, still connected with society by the bonds of hope at least. Summing up: Prison homosexuality is the sport of the kings of prison, glamorous and hateful to the casual criminal.

VIII. *Short Range Planning.* Only cursory attention need be given the problem of short range planning in homosexual behavior in prisons, since the general theory of short range planning and its relationship to crime were given detailed recognition in an earlier paper.⁽³⁴⁾ We give this factor specific recognition not because it is exceedingly important for the understanding of prison homosexuality, but because, together with the actual sex deprivation situation, it is well-nigh the only psycho-biological factor of any significance in this context.

In briefest form: It is a general tendency of criminals to respond to stimuli originating in the proximate segments of the Life Space, whose motivating force is so overwhelming that it screens stimuli emanating from remoter segments of the life space. This phenomenon is given explicit recognition in the layman's expression: "Lack of self control." It should be noted that motivation by proximate stimuli leads to short range planning, whereas motivation by remoter stimuli leads to long range planning.

Since there is nothing in the prison environment to re-structure this basic social defect of the criminal, it is to be expected that he would display a hair-trigger response to opportunities of sexual gratification, as well as to related stimuli, such as the "chivalrous and romantic" goal of prison homosexuality etiquette. This responsiveness is very explicit in the letters quoted, which can conveniently be analyzed in terms of the concept of "instigation"⁽³⁵⁾ as well as of Chapple's method of analyzing the pair-event.⁽³⁶⁾

In contrasting "Bill" and "Boots" we note that while Bill is younger (21 vs. 23), he has a higher I. Q. (99 vs. 89), his sentence is longer (25 yrs. vs. 9 yrs.), and his crime more serious (armed robbery vs. forgery). Yet "Bill" is characterized as a "rational," "unemotional" person and apparently considered a good subject for constructive work, whereas "Boots" is described as a hardened criminal with a poor prognosis.

A superficial view of the matter would lead us to expect that ac-

tion would be originated by "Bill" rather than by "Boots." Actually it is the "weak sister" of the pair who originates the situation, and "Bill" is hard put to it to live up to "Boots'" "highfalutin'" style and infantile exaltation. "Boots'" letter is that of a hysterical woman, a typically dependent letter, whereas "Bill's" letter is that of a man trying to humor his difficult wife. In brief, it is the dependent partner of the pair who instigates action, defines the situation and sets the tone for interaction. This is to be expected because of the importance of dependency cravings emphasized above. It is the parasite—and, more particularly, the hardened criminal, not the environmentally misled one—who originates behavior in relations of this type. It is the "weak sister" who creates problems through his inability to cope with the prison situation.

The fact that the two reiterate to each other that they have no one else in the world does more than support our analysis of the problem of isolation and affective investment. It duly emphasizes the most important shortcoming of prisons in general: The penal system makes a definite effort to exclude the external world and its stimuli. In prison, better than anywhere else, the inmate is sedulously trained to respond only to stimuli located in the proximate (prison) environment, and thus is further reinforced in his already deeply rooted tendency to ignore stimuli emanating from remoter segments of the life space and hence is not taught even the rudiments of long range planning and adaptation.

IX. *Conclusions.* The factors in prison homosexuality described lead us to a different view of the social problem presented by this type of behavior. It is not "human" or "criminal nature" that causes prison homosexuality. It is the prison system which transforms human nature and induces it to engage in homosexual practices. The process is facilitated by the fact that—witness Nazi Germany—there is always a potential infantile homosexual lurking behind the "manly" mask of the beast of prey, which rejoices in male society.

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THE ALCOHOLIC TRAFFIC OFFENDER*

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The subject of the alcoholic driver is an extremely important one. Upon first thought it is hard to see why this should be so, for less than 15% of all drivers involved in traffic accidents are called alcoholic.⁽¹⁾ However, our interest rests on the fact that alcohol seems to be the one factor in the causation of traffic deaths upon which we can place our fingers with some degree of objectivity. In a recent paper I pointed out that most traffic accidents are not due to the highway, to bad engineering of the motor car, or to defective equipment.⁽²⁾ Instead, I pointed out, the whole matter of the driving problem is one which pertains to mental hygiene, that accidents are due either to the physical or mental condition of the driver at the time that the accident occurs, or to a particular lapse which caused the driver to be inadequate in a critical moment. Earlier (1937) I pointed out that such rather obvious psycho-physical features of the driver as to his reaction time, his breadth of vision, and his depth perception, were not of as great importance as earlier authors had tended to imply.⁽³⁾ One of the features of the individual driver which obviously affects his competence is the ingestion of alcohol.

In a recent report of the Committee to Study Problems of Motor Vehicle Accidents for the American Medical Association, under the aegis of Dr. Heise, a member of that committee and author of a number of papers on the detection of alcohol in alleged drunken drivers, standards of drunkenness as determined by alcoholic concentration in the

* From the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court, Detroit, Michigan. Series T. No. 20.

(1) "Death Begins at 40," The Travelers Insurance Company, Hartford, Connecticut. p. 11.

(2) L. S. Selling, "The Mental Hygiene Aspect of the Traffic Accident," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 115, No. 11 (September 14, 1940), 903-906.

(3) L. S. Selling, "The Psychological Approach to the Traffic Problem," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. XLIV, (June, 1937) 547-54.

blood were set up—standards which are the first of their kind to be established in this country so far as I know.⁽¹⁾

The work of Heise and others who have been interested in the matter of detection of alcohol in the body fluids, has tended somewhat to clarify testimony on this subject in Court. It has not, however, got to the root of the matter any more than general consideration of traffic accidents has corrected the situation.

Current reports indicate that this year will probably be the most serious year from the standpoint of motor vehicle deaths and accidents that has ever occurred in the history of this country. It can be seen that propaganda to control speeding, to control traffic violations, and to control pedestrian conduct has been carried out in various manners in different communities, but has failed to serve any specific purpose. Most methods of dealing with the alcoholic offender seem to be just about as futile as the methods of dealing with the traffic offender in general, and while alcoholism plays just about the same role this year as it has in the past years in spite of all the research and propaganda, it cannot be over-emphasized that it is a matter for important consideration.

THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study consists of the analysis of one hundred recent consecutive cases of every type of alcoholic driver who were referred to the Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court. The writer has elsewhere described the function of this Clinic.⁽²⁾ Suffice it to say at this point that cases are referred by the Judges for complete physical, psycho-physical, psychological, and psychiatric examination. The findings of the various specialists in the Clinic are simplified, and a report is rendered to the Judge. Accurate statistics are kept of the various findings, including the topic of alcohol.

It took from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940, for the one hundred alcoholic cases to pass through the Traffic unit. Two hundred and forty-eight cases in all, including these cases, were seen, so that two-fifths of the cases seen in approximately eight months were alcoholics of one or another kind. This, of course, does not mean that two-fifths of

(1) Committee to Study Problems of Motor Vehicle Accidents, *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Vol. 112, No. 21, (May 27, 1939), 2164.

(2) L. S. Selling, "The Psychiatric Findings in the Cases of 500 Traffic Offenders and Accident-Prone Drivers," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 97, No. 1, (July, 1940), 68-79.

all the cases brought into the Court in Detroit are alcoholic. The actual number of drunk drivers, of course, is very small because most offenders are "ticket" violators: parking offenders and other misdemeanants. The figures of the Detroit Traffic Court in this respect would not be of any significance in evaluating traffic alcoholism, a truism which should be taken into consideration in any statistical evaluation of traffic offenders.

First of all, there are many traffic offenders who have been drinking who are not charged with "drunken driving," either because the evidence would not sustain the charge, or they displayed no abnormality while driving or when dismounting from their cars, so that the officer did not check their breaths. Because of the fluctuating attitude of the Courts in the matter of penalties for Drunk Driving, there are corresponding differences of behavior on the part of the arresting officer. When the Court has been extremely harsh in the matter of alcoholic drivers, the arresting officers are inclined to take the law into their own hands and be lenient, knowing that the individuals, should they be charged with Drunk Driving, are apt to be very severely dealt with. On the other hand, if the Court has been lenient the officer becomes extremely careful about bringing in an offender without very carefully prepared evidence so that cases which properly might be brought into Court escape because of the officer's fear that he will be reprimanded by the Judge for dealing unfairly with the alcoholic driver. Fortunately the last two considerations are not important ones. The important element in invalidating Court statistics or police statistics of the relationship of drinking to driving is the fact that many alcoholics go undetected because of lack of symptoms, and, on the other hand, the officer is often unable to spot the symptoms when they are actually present.

The Clinic gets an entirely different picture of the alcoholic driver than does either the police officer, the reformer, or the traffic expert. The police officer sees individuals zigzagging down the street, and because he is unable to analyze a number of component factors that might be the equivalent of alcohol and vitiate alcoholism, he ascribes the malperformance to alcoholism.

The Judge usually sees these offenders sober, so that it is only the police officer's description that given him any idea of what the driving situation was. Traffic experts see the drunk driver as a number in a table, while the reformer sees, like a beacon light among all other figures, the number of alcoholic offenders. In the study mentioned above,⁽¹⁾ we

⁽¹⁾ L. S. Selling, "The Psychiatric Findings in the Cases of 500 Traffic Offenders and Accident-Prone Drivers," *op. cit.*

gave a brief table showing the alcoholic findings of our first five hundred cases.

TABLE I⁽¹⁾

*Alcoholism in 500 Cases Seen in the Traffic Division of the
Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court, Detroit
October 1936 - December 1938.**

	CASES	PER CENT
Alcoholism	179	35.8
Chronic Alcoholism	76	15.2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	255	51.0

This table is very interesting. It shows almost half of our first five hundred cases as having some form of alcoholism. This does not jibe with the recent two hundred and forty-eight cases which compose this study. We cannot explain why there should be this discrepancy. Certainly our technique has not changed. We are inclined to believe that a different type of case is now being sent to us; that the chronic alcoholic that came to us before is now being sentenced without clinical study, as the Judge believes that he is not worthy of special diagnosis and treatment, whereas the mild offender and problem case who has alcoholism as an ancillary trait or complicating feature still comes to the Clinic. We might emphasize that any of the features and statistics that are presented from the Recorder's Court Clinic do not represent the cross section of the Detroit driving public, but merely the unusually bizarre group which have been referred by Traffic Court either because of frequent violations, peculiar behavior in Court, peculiar behavior at the time of the accident, or as a result of a situation which cannot easily be comprehended by the Court while taking testimony but requires careful psychiatric investigation and analysis.

* Canty, Alan. "Case Study Method of Rehabilitating Drivers." Read at the meeting of the American Association of Applied Psychologists, Columbus, Ohio, September, 1938.

(1) L. S. Selling, "The Psychiatric Findings in the Cases of 500 Traffic Offenders and Accident-Prone Drivers," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, Vol. 97, No. 1, (July, 1940), 70.

HABITS AND NATURE OF THE CASE MATERIAL

TABLE II

Source of Reference for 100 Alcoholic Traffic Offenders Seen in the Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic of Recorder's Court from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940

SOURCE	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION ALCOHOLISM
Judges of Recorder's Court	28	32	3	15
License Bureau	1	5	3	0
Women's Probation Department	2	1	1	0
License Appeal Board	0	0	1	1
Traffic Referee	5	0	1	0
Clinic	0	0	0	1
Total	36	38	9	17

It can be seen from this table that we have divided up the one hundred cases into four types of alcoholics. The first group was classified just as alcoholic, which we interpret to mean that the patient drinks more than the usual person—one or two “shots” of liquor almost daily, accompanied, perhaps, by a few drinks of beer, or patients who go out regularly every week-end really to get intoxicated. This group may have periods when they drank very heavily for a week or two and then have periods of abstinence. We do not sub-divide this group for purposes of the present study any more definitely than just to indicate that they are alcoholic. Such cases may have records of consistent drinking but not to any great degree.

The chronic alcoholic, for present consideration, on the other hand, is a consistent drinker to a clinical degree. Such cases have some frank symptoms such as the raw-beef tongue, tremors and florid complexion. Certainly the history is consistent, even as given by the patient himself, and he admits being always a little bit “under the weather.” Almost every morning he has to have a drink in order to steady himself from the previous night's carousal. He is seldom so drunk that he is frequently arrested and brought into Court as a chronic alcoholic, but the arrest records of most of this group show that they have

been brought into a precinct station for one or more periods of detention overnight to sober up. However, the police records on cases such as these are highly inaccurate as no fingerprint record is kept. Almost none of these cases has been brought into Court charged with Drunkenness, for those cases which are brought into Court to be tried and sentenced are the very flagrant violators who have disturbed the peace or who are known to the police in their vicinity as individuals who must be locked up for periods of time to keep them from being offensive or detrimental to public morals.

The next group of alcoholics is composed of those who admit a history of alcoholism, by which we mean there has been a considerable degree of drinking at one time in the past, but at present time they are found to be practically abstainers—they may have a cocktail and an occasional glass of beer once or twice during the week.

There is a fourth group on which we raise the question of alcoholism, cases who have physical findings which are suggestive of drinking, or in whom the amount of alcohol which the patient admits drinking is not as great as the history would seem to indicate. The reason we separate this group of alcoholics is because there are no definite confessions in the case to inform us that the individual has been drinking more than he should, but there is sufficient independent information—the situation is questionable only because of the patient's own denial or minimizing of his drinking.

In looking at the sources of referral (Table II), it can be seen that the Judges send most of the cases because problem cases establish themselves as problems and unusual situations can be presented primarily in the Court room. The patient's examination before the License Appeal Board, for example, since this Board is not made up of physicians, would not be likely to disclose the symptoms of chronic alcoholism. It has always been the desire of those who wish to eliminate from the highway chronic alcoholics or those who are likely to be arrested for drunken driving to find some signs which could be recognized by license examiners. Unfortunately, this could only be true if the examiners were psychiatrists, and a thorough psychiatric examination taking some hours could be carried out. The psychiatric examination would need to be supplemented by an extensive psychiatric history preferably from a very accurate informant rather than from the patient himself, as both license candidates and alcoholics are notoriously unreliable, and the combination of the two has presented a major problem.

TABLE III

Marital Status of 100 Alcoholic Traffic Offenders Seen in the Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic of Recorder's Court from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940

MARITAL STATUS	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION ALCOHOLISM
Married	18	22	6	9
Single	7	6	1	3
Common Law	3	2	0	0
Separated	0	4	0	2
Divorced	7	3	1	2
Widowed	1	1	1	1
Total	36	38	9	17

An analysis of this group of one hundred cases reveals, as regards the marital status, that 23 of the 36 alcoholics are married, that 32 out of the 38 chronics are married, 6 out of the 9 with a history of alcohol, and 9 of the 17 with a question of alcohol. We are inclined to believe that the marital situation has a great bearing upon drinking, that often these individuals drink in an attempt to escape from the marital pincers.

In the criminal courts, vagrants are most frequently seen who were arrested for "Disturbing the Peace," and who operate at a very low economic level; they comprise the largest number of the alcoholics seen in the Clinic or in the Recorder's Court in general. Such a picture would not be likely to exist among traffic cases because of the fact that ownership of a car, no matter how poor that car may be, demands a certain amount of economic background. There is not only the initial cost of the car but there is the license fee, the cost of gasoline, and, although it is not carried as consistently as one might wish, the need for insurance upon motor cars to be considered. We find a vast dispersion of cars among the alcoholic group, some of the cases having the latest models of Buicks and the smaller Packards, and the spread of models is reduced from there to the point where one individual reported himself to have a Ford Model T, 1925, truck. There is nothing consistent, apparently, in the relationship of the model or make of car to the type of alcoholism or the fact that the individual was arrested for alcoholism. The same situation seems to be noticeable when going over the economic background of the Traffic Clinic cases. The distribution is extremely wide,

with no obvious mode, so that there are no ways of determining the patient's economic security except that it might be noted that thirty-two percent of the hundred cases has a record of having had Works Progress Administration or Department of Public Welfare help during the past five years.

CLINICAL FINDINGS AMONG FOUR GROUPS OF ALCOHOLICS

An interesting consideration would be the determination of any indication of venereal disease in the cases of these alcoholics.

TABLE IV

*Distribution of Kahn Tests and Other Venereal Findings of 100
Alcoholic Traffic Offenders Seen in the Traffic Division
of the Psychopathic Clinic of Recorder's Court
from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940*

VENERAL FINDINGS	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION ALCOHOLISM
Negative	23	30	5	9
Kahn 4	0	0	1	1
Kahn 3	0	1	0	0
Kahn 2	0	0	0	0
Kahn 1	3	0	0	0
History of Gonorrhea	9	5	3	5
History of Gonorrhea and Syphilis	1	1	0	2
Question C. N. S.				
Syphilis	0	1	0	0
Total	36	38	9	17

Table IV shows the distribution. It is interesting to note that there is only one case in which central nervous system syphilis without concomitant Kahn findings was demonstrated. In the whole group of alcoholics there were none which gave a simulation of paresis, a type of physical reaction which is so often seen in mental hospitals, although in Table IV two frank paretics are noted. The presence of venereal disease in these traffic cases is striking.

TABLE V

*The Chronological Ages of 100 Alcoholic Traffic Offenders Seen in the
Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court
from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940
and Detroit's Estimated Population, 1937, Age Ten Years and over.**

AGE GROUP	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION ALCOHOLISM	TOTAL ALCOHOLICS NO.	%	EST. POP. DETROIT 1937 NO.	%
10 - 19	1	0	0	0	1	1.	270,951	20.12
20 - 29	12	7	3	6	28	28.	340,256	25.26
30 - 39	12	12	2	2	28	28.	335,180	24.88
40 - 49	5	11	1	5	22	22.	217,447	17.14
50 - 59	4	5	0	3	12	12.	106,245	7.88
60 - 69	2	3	2	1	8	8.	51,547	3.83
70 and up	0	0	1	0	1	1.	23,708	1.74
Not given	0	0	0	0	0	0.	1,094	.08
Total	36	38	9	17	100	100%	1,346,428	100%

* From the Psychopathic Clinic of the Recorder's Court, and *City Health*, Vol. No. 1, p. 11, corrected for age range to compare with the clinic population of ages, 13 and over.

It is interesting to note the age distribution of these individuals. While one hundred cases is insufficient to enable a statistician to determine what age means in relationship to the traffic and alcohol situation, a student of the problem cannot ignore the interesting distribution here shown, particularly among the "alcoholic," where the preponderance lies below the age forty. This would seem to have some relationship to the Detroit population lies between the twentieth and fortieth birthdays. Nevertheless, the tapering off is much sharper in this group than in the group of chronic alcoholics, where there is a crest in the span from thirty to forty, and it should be noted that the distribution of cases is practically as high from forty to forty-nine as it was from thirty to thirty-nine. This leads us to believe that by the time individuals have reached the sixth decade they have learned to control their drinking if they are not going to become chronic alcoholics but they must in many cases become chronic alcoholics, so that a mental regression in the later decade can be definitely noted.

In dealing with the problem of alcohol, the matter of age is stressed. Only too often the press stresses the youthful inebriate as causing most of the accidents, but in the above table it can be seen that the alcoholic driver is not necessarily a young driver. Although the Clinic sees cases under seventeen if they are in serious traffic trouble, they do not appear in the group here studied.

One ought to find a preponderance of alcoholics in the early twenties if alcohol and youth could consistently be considered concomitant. More true than the fact that youth and alcohol go together seems to be the fact that chronic alcoholism and early middle age go together, a finding which should not surprise anybody acquainted with the age distribution of inmates diagnosed as alcoholics in mental hospitals.

The kinds of traffic offenses committed by these alcoholic individuals are of interest.

TABLE VI

*The Charges Lodged Against 100 Alcoholic Traffic Offenders
Seen in the Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic
of Recorder's Court
from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940*

CHARGE	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION AI COHOLISM
Car Not Under Control	2	0	0	1
Drunk Driving	0	2	0	1
Drunk Motor Law	4	7	0	2
Ignoring Signal	0	0	0	1
Failure to Identify Self	1	0	0	0
Leaving Scene of Accident	2	5	0	0
License Revoked	0	2	0	0
Reckless Driving	23	15	5	8
Cutting Traffic	1	1	1	0
No Charge	3	6	4	4
Total	36	38	9	17

It can be seen that there are eighteen different classifications of offenses in which the hundred cases fall. Out of these there are only two which are clearly cut violations having to do with drinking, namely, three cases of Drunk Driving, and thirteen cases of violation against the law of driving a car while drunk ("Drunk Motor Law"). However, there are three cases of "Car Not Under Control" which probably has something to do with the fact that the individual in one case was supposed to have been drunk when the offense occurred but it could not be proved that he was. The alcoholics included under "Car Not Under Control" denied that they were drinking at the time of their arrest, and there is no evidence that the arresting officer detected the odor of alcohol on their breaths. (There is no chemical test used in Detroit). These cases admitted that they did drink at times and fairly consistently.

An interesting finding is that among the chronic alcoholics there were five who "Left the Scene of an Accident" without reporting it, an illustration of a typical fugue reaction which is frequently found among

these alcoholic drivers. Two who "Left the Scene of an Accident" were classed in the Clinic as simple alcoholics and not as chronic alcoholics, admitted drinking at the time the offense was committed.

A few words about this fugue reaction seems to be pertinent. In considering the case of alcoholics who flee the scene of an accident, a very careful consideration of the background, including the cause of the drinking, usually shows that these individuals are also fleeing from the situation which causes them to drink. In one case, as noted above, it was the marital situation. In another case it was the problem of feelings of inferiority which were set up in the home environment. The other two cases presented very complex problems having to do with marital and home failures in which the roots of the conflict lay very deeply back in the personality structure. All of these individuals began to flee from their problem situation by drinking, completed their flight by running away from an accident into which their unsteadiness and drunken condition apparently led them.

The lack of insignificant offenses among our drinking drivers is interesting. As we find an occasional case of defective brakes, driving through the red light, excessive tickets, failure to stop at a stop street, in the daily intake of the Clinic, the fact that these cases do not appear with any degree of frequency among those who have been drinking is striking. Apparently the alcoholic selectively modifies the thinking processes to a sufficient extent so that these individuals are able to go through the usual habitual performances like stopping at regulatory signs or lights with a reasonable degree of accuracy and control; but when the alcohol really affects the personality, it leads the individual into considerable difficulty—"Leaving the Scene of an Accident," "Failure to Identify Self"—both of which are usually classified by the Press as "Hit and Run," and "Car Not Under Control." The large number of cases referred without findings come from the Appeal Board and the License Bureau. These patients have on the whole, violated the law but the type of violation has been obscured by a period of non-driving pending the issuance of a license.

The recidivism of the alcoholic driver is a matter for deep consideration, in fact this subject by itself is worthy of detailed study. Statistics show that the range of arrests is from 0 to over 50 (112 is the uppermost). Many of the cases, particularly the mild alcoholics, are arrested frequently. Chronic alcoholics are arrested even more frequently than the mild alcoholics and those in whom alcoholism is only under question are less frequently arrested than the other groups. Certainly

the fact that there are so many arrests brings home the fact that very little therapy is being done on these cases. It is a serious challenge to the students of the problem of the alcoholic driver to note recidivism among chronic alcoholics occurring twenty-two, twenty-six and twenty-nine times. While these arrests include offenses other than those occurring in traffic, it must not be forgotten that the individual is before the Clinic not because of these other offenses but only because of his traffic offenses.

In considering the matter of the alcoholic driver, a number of personality, emotional and structural considerations should be given much thought. For the purpose of the present discussion I am limiting myself to two specific mental factors which are highly objective. The first is the matter of Intelligence Quotient, the second, psychiatric diagnoses.

TABLE VIII

Intelligence Quotients for 100 Alcoholic Traffic Offenders Seen in the Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic of Recorder's Court from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION ALCOHOLISM
30 - 39	2	—	—	—
40 - 49	2	1	—	1
50 - 59	2	3	1	—
60 - 69	3	2	2	4
70 - 79	7	11	1	4
80 - 89	11	11	3	3
90 - 99	5	5	1	4
100-109	3	3	—	1
110-119	1	1	1	—
Not tested	—	1	—	—
Total	36	38	9	17

Cases coming through the Clinic are given, as a general rule, a self-administering intelligence test. If the psychological investigation or psychiatric findings indicate that the person is handicapped by emotional or linguistic handicaps, he is given a supplementary test, as is also the case if his intelligence falls below an Intelligence Quotient of 70 on the test. When alcohol is involved, the reliability and validity of tests of the "paper" variety must be open to question. Almost all of these tests are standardized on the ordinary non-drinking school population. Psychiatrists are well aware of the fact that inhibition, even though not continuous and not of a very great degree, invalidates the test, and that these test results would show deterioration had similar tests been taken earlier in the individual's life. Nevertheless, intelligence test results do indicate the current level upon which the patient is functioning. The fact that the mode among the alcoholics and chronic alcoholics lies in the dull normal group is an indication that while alcoholics may be feeble-minded and may also be quite bright, nevertheless, they can be considered, from a standpoint of intelligence, not atypical from the general run of individuals. Even the fact that there is a second mode in the chronic alcoholic group, the level of 70 - 79 does not indicate that these people are preponderantly feeble-minded. It probably indicates that they have deteriorated to that level from an earlier dull or even average rating. It is to be expected that even if there are not some emotional conflicts to explain the drinking, mental deficiency with concomitant feelings of inadequacy would lead to alcoholic flight; and careful investigation of the dull and borderline feeble-minded cases has, in the Clinic's experience with this group, borne out this contention.

TABLE IX

*Psychiatric Diagnoses of 100 Alcoholic Traffic Offenders Seen in the
Traffic Division of the Psychopathic Clinic of Recorder's Court
from December 18, 1939 to August 5, 1940*

DIAGNOSIS	ALCOHOLIC	CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM	HISTORY OF ALCOHOLISM	QUESTION ALCOHOLISM
Manic-depressive				
psychosis	0	0	1	0
Parapsychosis	0	0	0	1
Psychosis with				
arteriosclerosis	0	0	1	0
Paresis	2	0	1	0
Central nervous				
system syphilis	1	0	0	0
Senile deterioration	0	0	1	0
Chronic alcoholism				
with deterioration	0	15	0	0
Chronic alcoholism				
without deterioration	0	4	0	0
Psychopathic personality				
inadequate	2	6	2	3
Psychopathic personality				
egocentric	3	1	0	0
Psychopathic personality				
unstable	10	2	0	4
Borderline feeble-minded	3	0	0	0
Feeble-minded adjustable	2	2	0	1
Feeble-minded, poorly				
adjustable	3	0	0	0
Feeble-minded,				
non-adjustable	0	0	0	0
Inferior intelligence	7	8	3	7
No major psychopathy	2	0	0	0
No diagnosis	1	0	0	1
Total	36	38	9	17

Table IX gives the distribution of psychiatric diagnoses. The fact that fifteen chronic alcoholics with deterioration were found driving cars and committing traffic offenses is a serious indictment of society's intent to handle the drinking driver problem. These people should not have been licensed, and should not have been found behind the wheel of a car. The psychopathic personality groups give some idea of the genesis of the drinking, for the egocentric, inadequate, unstable psychopaths have, first of all, the symptom of alcoholism to aid in the diagnosis, and, secondly, the behavior of alcoholism to exhibit the personality conflicts and established problems. There are no alcoholic psychotics in the group covered by this study. The paretics probably drank as a symptom of their serious mental disease.

The group having inferior intelligence has been discussed by implication under the topic of Intelligence Quotients. These individuals are largely compensated by drinking.

The feeble-minded, often being suggestible, have frequently been led into drinking by their companions or by the environmental pattern established in their inferior neighborhoods and in their families.

Some mention might be made of the two cases diagnosed as not having a major psychopathy. This was probably due to the peculiar intake of the Clinic. If we were to have seen a complete sample of all cases going through the Traffic Court for an eight months' period, the number of individuals diagnosed as not having a major psychopathy would be very high, perhaps including over ninety-five percent of the cases coming through the Traffic Court. On the other hand, the two cases here diagnosed as not having a major psychopathy but drinking occasionally would imply that in our eyes alcohol *per se* does not necessarily carry with it a psychopathic diagnosis, a sensible point of view.

CONCLUSION

Any conclusion which might be drawn from the data presented above must, of course, be limited by the number of cases and the particular types of information which have been tabulated. The importance of these data lies in the unexpected findings—unexpected in the sense that they are not familiar to those who are acquainted only with hospitalized alcoholics, alcoholic cases seen in private medical practice, or whose knowledge of the problem comes from press releases on the subject of the drinking driver.

In brief, it can be seen that there are a number of alcoholics driving and getting into trouble. They are not necessarily being arrested for driving while drunk, but the drinking has certainly made inroads into their personalities and upon their behavior on the highway. They offer a serious social problem, as evidenced by their serious recidivism and by the fact that in so few cases, particularly of the Clinic group, can be given a clean bill of health.

Other features brought out in the above study which must be considered unexpected is, first, the fact that there are two types of alcoholic drivers—those who are not yet chronic alcoholic and are a young group but not as youthful as the Press would lead us to believe, and second, that many chronic alcoholics, even alcoholic to a very serious degree, are driving motor cars when they should never have been given licenses. The problem of licensing these people has been briefly touched upon, and the only answer to this problem which is apparent at the present time lies in the availability of a properly trained psychiatric personnel when the licensing examinations are made.

This report should modify the current attitude of those who wish to correct the traffic situation with regard to the drinking driver. An approach cannot be made through immediate punitive efforts. If that were the case, the recidivistic individuals would not present the records which they do, for in Detroit, at least, drunken drivers have been drastically dealt with. More important corrective procedures are in order; and here again psychiatry is brought to the fore, not so much from a diagnostic point of view, which is the preponderant one in the licensing situation, but from the therapeutic angle. We are dealing with a mass of pathological material, some of which at least might be treatable. And, in fact, we can say from case work which is not yet sufficiently crystallized to be presented in this paper, that some therapy has been successfully carried out in the alcoholic group who are not yet chronic.

One feature of the situation which cannot be overlooked is the unstable and rather disorganized attitude of the police and other enforcement agencies toward drinking and driving. The test of the body fluids for alcoholic content may be of some aid here but there is danger of over-emphasis. It does not appear from this study that the individual needs to have been drinking while he is driving to be a menace. The mere fact that he drinks at all raises the question of his potential assaultiveness when operating a motor car.

The present report does not take into consideration the psychophysical deviations which occur while the driver is under the influence of alcohol, and which, in the cases where alcoholism is tabulated as a factor in nation-wide research projects, is the important finding. The dictum that alcohol and gasoline do not mix is a *cliché*, but I think I have showed that this dictum should be broadened to imply that gasoline in only an atmosphere of alcohol is explosive.

Abstracts From Current Literature

A - Psychoanalysis

FOUR TYPES OF NEUROTIC INDECISIVENESS.

EDMUND BERGLER. *The Psychoanalytic Quarterly*. 9:481-492, October, 1940.

Four general groups of individuals who exhibit indecisiveness are topically discussed under the titles of:

1. Indecisiveness resulting from acting out a 'magic gesture.'
2. Indecisiveness resulting from withdrawal of an unconscious prop against guilt feelings.
3. Indecisiveness and "retrospective enthusiasm."
4. Pseudo-indecisiveness in oral neuroses.

Introductory paragraphs of the article comment upon neurotic conflict in general. The individual is unable to solve these himself due to the fact that the roots of the conflict are deeply situated in the unconscious and that much of the material is infantile which gives a certain degree of satisfaction to the individual and makes him put up unconscious resistance against the conflict being solved. As a matter of fact the individual in many instances creates through his own efforts situations which tend to augment the conflict. One of the results of this is lack of ability to come to a decision because repressed desires for revenge against the father lead to self-reproach and unconscious scruples elaborated in the form of a defense mechanism. The individual thus becomes incapable of approaching and resolving any situation directly. A symbolical living out of repressed wishes creates not only pain to the individual but also an unconscious pleasure brought about by satisfaction of his need for punishment through suffering.

The topical discussion of the foregoing types clearly indicates that indecisiveness may be expressed in a number of different ways with a fairly well-defined mechanism in operation in each instance. The acting out of the magic gesture is well illustrated by the author in the discussion

of a case in which the individual obtained revenge upon his thrifty mother by his extravagances which brought her all sorts of embarrassment. In his opinion, his mother expressed preference for some of her children, neglect of others. He considered himself in the latter group. Symbolically, she was exerting the same thrift in the matter of her affection for her children as she did for material things and he reacted by taking revenge through extravagances. His indecisiveness was expressed in many ways particularly in the matter of being unable to select a single object out of many for purchase. They all appealed to him, therefore, he would buy the entire lot. The tendency to self-punishment and revenge is clearly indicated in this group.

In the type in which withdrawal of an unconscious prop against guilt feelings is displayed, a mechanism comes into operation which is of considerable importance in the study of latent neurotics or those in the pre-neurotic stage. The prop which has been erected by the individual against neurotic breakdown may be effective throughout the entire life of that individual. Upon the withdrawal of the prop, however, neurosis usually develops. Thus, the individual lives in a state of neurotic compromise. Infantile wishes can be realized by a process of displacement accompanied by a certain unconscious self-chastisement. Thus, the unconscious ego acquires a prop against guilt feelings for reprehensible desires. The mechanism is aptly illustrated by the author in the discussion of the case of a man who had married a woman nine years older than himself and had come to consider her as "an old woman" because of this difference in ages, her lack of interest in sexual matters, and her rather maternal situation in the marital relationship. Analysis of the case showed that there was a mother fixation on his part, a situation in which the parents quarreled and the boy developed aggressive hostility toward his father. Incestual wishes with guilt feelings resulted.

The rationalization of "Father-wants-to-leave-Mother" became a powerful exoneration for his feeling of guilt and when the father actually did leave the mother, it made it possible for the patient to marry an elderly woman who became the mother surrogate. Sexually he resolved his marital difficulties by getting a mistress, but in the course of time, she demanded that he divorce his wife and marry her. To his intense surprise, he found himself unwilling to do this as he discovered that the marriage with his wife was the prop which acted against feelings of guilt. He had been doing the very thing for which he reproached his father; namely, leaving his mother (mother surrogate). This case has some over-tones and deeper meanings which need not be discussed here. The author suggests that the search for props of this nature against guilt feelings may be utilized technically for revealing the source of many neuroses which have long been latent.

Where indecisiveness is the result of retrospective enthusiasm, the defense mechanism of the unconscious ego is utilized in counteracting indecisiveness. It reacts protectively. A libidinous desire is warded off by means of aggression. In this method the indecisiveness, therefore, finds fault with any particular relationship at hand and exalts something in the past. The retrospective enthusiasm is not quite genuine but has a narcissistic motivation. By this mechanism, the individual bypasses the need for an immediate decision through negating by retrospective enthusiasm the factors involved in the situation.

A pseudo-indecisiveness is often met in oral neuroses through some form of denial from those persons in the real world whom they identify with the phallic mother. By this means the individual is able to justify aggression against that individual without any feeling of guilt and thereby gets masochistic enjoyment.

The author calls especial attention to a widespread belief that oral eroticism is not formulated on the basis of wanting to partake of something; it is rather on the basis of refusing something in revenge. A case was cited in which a man had found upon marriage that his wife was inexperienced sexually and was frigid toward him. He aggressively berated her

and obtained thereby satisfaction since his attack was without the feeling of guilt on his part. Actually he did not desire intercourse with her as was found by further analysis and by this means he gave the impression of having strong convictions although this was purely a false expression since the motives underlying his actual conduct was those of identifying himself with the mother and an abhorrence thereof, of sexual relationships with any other woman.

V. C. B.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE. PAUL SCHILDER. *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 29:353-372, October, 1942.

This topic is of interest to everyone but has a particular application to the study of criminals inasmuch as they are obviously social failures. Although Dr. Schilder does not offer a classification of groups subject to failure, his topical discussion of the subject would suggest the following outline of types of individuals prone to inadequacy:

1. Certain non-neurotics with good mental endowment.
2. Neurotics with good mental endowment.
3. Mental Defectives.
4. Criminals.
5. Those who have engaged in a life program beyond their mental capacities.
6. Somatic defectives suffering from deformities, prolonged illnesses; i. e., cancer, tuberculosis, etc.
7. Those individuals encountering sociological and environmental conditions over which they have no control.

The author is primarily interested in a discussion of the neurotic and non-neurotic groups of good mental endowment. The idea of success is discussed and illustrated by the citation in brief of three cases of individuals under the age of 30 who had failed for various reasons. One individual could not rid himself of the idea that he was too stupid to make a success of any-

thing. The second was suffering with the fear of the hostility of the world and preferred a career which would not be exposed to failure. The third had failed in everything he had attempted and was inclined to blame his parents instead of himself for such failure. Closer observation of these cases, as well as similar ones, indicates that underlying the surface phenomena of personal attitudes are four relatively common mechanisms which prevent the individual from exercising effectively such talents as he may possess. These are the adoption of a state of passivity (masochism); the fear of being punished if any positive action toward assuring success is taken; the narcissistic enjoyment of one's own importance; and the feeling which the individual has about not wanting to be exposed to the hard test of meeting reality.

Most people who fail are inclined to deal with problems which confront them in the present on the basis of the point of view of problems of childhood. Frequently there is found to be existing in such individuals an identification with the father or satisfaction has been obtained from an intensified love expressed by the mother. This, of course, leads to a fixation at a childhood level and does not permit satisfactory resolution of the oedipus situation. The dependency thus engendered may be compared to what has been termed "moral masochism" often associated with compulsive actions. The individual never really makes a struggle for any desired goal although he may give every appearance of so doing. Fundamentally he does not want to attain the goal especially if it means the giving up of any of his childhood desires or if it involves the assumption of any responsibilities. It is for this reason that certain individuals who chronically fail will not accept responsibilities necessary for success. They are subject to a rigid pattern which is rather mechanical and to a certain extent ritualistic. Quite often they are convinced of their own capacities and have the mental reservation that if they only cared enough to do so, they could achieve almost any kind of success. The moral masochist puts himself in the position of being punished through failure and this suffering is tolerated by the individual through the sense of the need for punish-

ment because of incestuous wishes strong in early life. The individual, however, does not recognize this background and is inclined to project his sense of suffering upon others and to blame them for aggressions. A feeling of guilt may, of course, be deeply unconscious and not appear even in surface phenomena. The history of these individuals, therefore, frequently reveals that they were very clever as children and that this self-aggrandizement was perpetuated in many instances by the attitude of the parents themselves toward the child. Because of this factor and the parent fixation, a satisfactory super-ego was not built out of the remnants of the oedipus situation.

The author in a brief paragraph on the mechanism involved in the personality makeup of the failure of criminals makes a clear distinction of the difference between the anti-social group and the failure who has never been a criminal. Most of the criminals do not have the continuous reassurance on the part of the parent that has been the fate of the other types. In fact the criminal from childhood throughout his entire career has had to reassure himself of his intrinsic value which in essence is the basic source of the feeling of power.

The author suggests that the ineffectiveness of these individuals amounts to almost a perversion inasmuch as the individual is making ineffective his talents to the community through fixations. Such an individual cannot be reasoned out of his mental attitudes toward problems of reality but he is susceptible to the analytical method of approach.

V. C. B.

PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT, OBESITY IN CHILDHOOD. HILDE BRUCH. *A. J. Orthopsychiatry*, 11:3, 467-474, July, 1941.

The theory of acquisitive criminality stands to learn something from this careful study of motives for "putting on weight" or "throwing your weight about," where "thwarted creative drives find somatic rather than social compensation."

Obesity is not passive endocrine dysfunction, but a process of "design for living" in consonance with inner urges. That the obese are given to certain types of crime e. g. of aggressive or sensational nature is already recognized. They have certain character trends of a positive nature, yet quite reverse traits obtain just before puberty than those in maturity, as this study of 200 cases reveals. They exhibit such disturbing factors as clumsiness, slowness and conservancy, torpor, withdrawal and inertia. They refuse to energise. These cases tend to early maturation and there is certainly no primary endocrine deficiency.

In personality they show little aggressiveness. Marked retarding of their social and emotional growth goes however with intellectual and physical pre-maturity. (as though assimilation of knowledge and of food went hand in hand).

Their basis affective immaturity and adiposity is largely a function of the mother's needs for inherited constitution as such is thought to play little part. She acts out of no mistaken sense of kindness but rather out of her own *helpless sense of immaturity and insecurity*, driven by her own unrealized ambitions and sense of frustration in economic and emotional life. There is frequent a latent hostility toward the patient (they definitely want girls), and cannot allow their child to grow up. Further the mother "cannot give of herself" (except through food-stuffing), and exhibits this crude form of affection and protection as a way to gain the upper hand. Such domination extends to almost every detail of the child's life, spoon-feeding in his grown years, coaxing to the lavatory, dressing him and generally thwarting his sociality, independence and "growing away" from her under the pretext of anxiety against lurking danger. (Is this a repetition-compulsion?) Thus candies and starches weigh heavy in their diet, for this is the tangible infantile evidence of mother-love; the resultant fat deposition "serving as a wall behind which the child seeks protection against a threatening outside."

From the child's angle, he too finds outlet for latent aggressive and hostile feelings in the act of over-eating yet he does not rebel. He follows the mother in being overbearing, domineering and demanding,

with over-gratification of self; for the father is usually weakly and of little driving power. (Against whom is the aggression directed?).

Food intake is the child's ready placebo in all situations of danger and disappointment. It indicates the unbroken fixation to the nipple which thwarts all growing up to psychological independency; "a birthright he sells" for mess of pottage. Basic attitudes are soon evolved which fit in with the mother's unconscious purposes. He ever anticipates lavish services, expects instant appeasement of demands, and is intolerant of disappointment or delay (oral narcissism). He must be satisfied, he just sits tight. Yet as a group they are weaklings, the unprotesting types, neither defending nor exerting themselves. Some 'secondary gain' must be derived from their mere bigness, as it emphasizes their ampleness of proportions, of expansive dimensions and suggestion of powerfulness and importance in a world of men. It secures them food-offerings from others, (the source of all material comfort); and this caters to the infantile symbolic significance of corpulency; (this is not discussed). There are thus the deeper satisfactions of sheer size in social space, the satisfaction of aggrandizement and the *symbolism* of largeness, which plays up to some internalized idealism (body image), expressive of the organism's "creating and operating himself" according to instinctual attitudes. Such inner picture is an accommodation of many thwarted desires and demands.

In so far as such dependency conflicts with growing up and break-away drives, this strong identification with the mother is constantly being reinforced by his own actions. An inertia perpetuates this syndrome in sheer plumpness. He cannot budge. If denied, he "cries like a baby for his bottle;" he must expand or burst and so indulges his excessive gratification, but only at primitive levels of acquisition. The demands of greed and grasp are assuaged only in gluttony for he knows not what it means "to go without" (the mother).

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B - Neuropsychiatry

EFFECTS OF INCEST ON THE PARTICIPANTS.

PAUL SLOANE, M. D. AND EVA KARPINSKI.
American Journal of Orthopsychiatry.
12:666-673, Oct., 1942.

Contrary to popular belief, incest is a rare phenomena among civilized people. It is therefore interesting to note that the five cases portrayed in this article occurred in one community within a space of five years. These cases of incest occurred in the post-adolescent period of life, and the cases are ably portrayed by the co-authors.

A short summary in which generalities regarding incestuous behavior reactions are discussed prefaces the presentation of the case material. It is observed that although children appear to react to incest no differently than they do to other forms of sexual activity, adolescents consider it socially reprehensible. Research indicates that sex relations with adults among children (including incest) are not basically destructive since the recollection of these experiences is usually repressed, although it may appear in later life in the form of neurotic complex. It is pointed out that the child itself often unconsciously desires the act and becomes more or less a willing partner.

Studies made by Devereux among primitive people show the disruptive influence of incest among adults and the social taboo that it constitutes.

The five cases of incest studied show striking similarities in many respects. The man appears to have been the active seducer in each case, the girl was usually more or less compliant, since sexual relations took place at frequent intervals over long periods. In all five cases the most outstanding finding was the degree of guilt feeling which each girl experienced, and which caused them to give up the relationship. This is all the more striking since sex laxity and promiscuousness were socially acceptable in the section of the community where the girls lived.

Another feature in these cases is that after giving up incest the girls sought another such partner which, the author con-

cludes, was a substitute for the incestuous partner. The net result of this indicates that the ego in each case had trouble in accepting total abstinence from sexual gratification, and therefore sought some other form of substitute gratification which is less reprehensible socially.

Still another interesting conclusion resulting from this study is the reaction of the girl toward her mother. In each case, although the girl may have been promiscuous with other men, she reacted to incest as if it were socially condemnable and had feelings of guilt toward her mother. This is explained by pointing out that the feeling of guilt is no doubt related to the death wishes against the mother which are inherent in incestuous relationships. Instead of developing neurotic symptoms arising out of the conflict, the one common reaction was sexual promiscuousness with men outside the family circle.

Only one case out of the five worked out a satisfactory adjustment in which normal life followed, the other four exhibiting various degrees of distortion of the personality. The authors conclude that the severity of the taboo which society has erected against incest has undoubtedly contributed to the nature of the reaction encountered.

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NOTES ON THE PROBLEMS OF SUICIDE AND ESCAPE. LAWRENCE F. WOOLLEY, M. D., AND ARNOLD H. EICHERT, M. D. *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, 98:110-118, July, 1941.

In an institution for the mentally ill, suicide and escape are two of the most important and serious problems facing the personnel and management. These problems are closely linked, since escape many times is a prelude to suicide. The problems, of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt hospital, where these studies were made, are unique for this hospital and are dealt with in a practical manner.

Due to the particular situation at this hospital, the factors contributing to self destruction and flight in other institutions have been kept to an unvarying element over a long period of time, and do not influence here, but they are negligible in the structure of the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital.

This investigation covered a period of nine years. It was found that the suicide curves do not even approximate the incidence of suicide in the general population of the United States, nor do they correlate with the trends in the New York State Hospitals. The relationship between the hospital administration and suicide is closer than the factors affecting the outside suicide population. Case loads per unit of attending staff and length of period of confinement to the institution do not seem to contribute to this problem. The competence caliber of the personnel has been constant and therefor is excluded as a contributor to the incidence of flight and self destruction. Suicides among paroled patients is quite frequent. However, this should not result in the abrogation of parole privileges, but in a more accurate method of determining the standards relating to the determinance of the imminence of this danger in each subject.

A careful examination of all records and research materials forced the conclusion that variations in the number of flights and suicides correlated to changes in the attitude of the personnel in attacking these specific problems.

At first every patient was placed on a list, whose members were considered to be immediately suicidal. Strict supervision of each individual followed and this continued long after the immediacy of the danger was past. The effect was one of annoyance to the patient, and exposed him to the constant stimulus of suicide. A change in basic principle occurred during 1932-33. All patients were then considered potentially suicidal. Only those who showed extremely virulent tendencies in this direction were kept under constant, albeit unobtrusive, supervision. Hazard removal, in a subtle and inconspicuous manner, prevented unnecessary exposure, on the part of the patient, to opportunities for self destruction. Carelessness in the staff's manner and supervision may suggest to the patient the need for demonstrating his suicidal in-

clinations. This problem is treated as completely and as conclusively as any other problem in the institution. The manner of escape, for each particular individual, evidences an extremely subjective twist, since the steps of flight are repeated again and again, following the exact same pattern. These flight methods are examined and discussed thoroughly, and exposure to the same set of stimuli are unostentatiously avoided.

An effective method for the curtailment, in the number of attempted escapes and suicides, is the mixed sex of the supervisory personnel in the male ward. The doctor and other male professionals satisfy the need for the heterosexual influence in the female ward, and negates the need for permanent males to be assigned to the women's section. An experiment in mixed wards was successful even among the most disturbed patients. A liberalization of attitude toward heterosexual social gatherings, has materially reduced the number of attempted flights and suicides.

Of course the need for socially acceptable behavior is subtly emphasized. The patients are allowed to dance together and mingle freely, although continuous dancing together and dates to leave the campus are effectively prevented.

On the part of the staff, reduction of the "sloganeering" influence has effectively contributed to a more intelligent attitude toward the treatment and supervision of the patients. Regular periods of instruction for the personnel, and an exhibition-demonstration room housing all the objects used in attempted and successful suicides, have enabled the staff to recognize potential sorties at their inception. Every escape is fully discussed at staff meeting, and then analyzed. In addition to these practices, normal everyday precautions, characteristic of an institution of this type, are completely developed. These precautions were constant throughout the study and therefor are not considered significant in the problem of variations in the number of flights and self destructions. The burden of responsibility for the prevention of self inflicted injury and death, on the part of the patients, falls squarely upon the nursing staff, since prevention is primarily a nursing problem.

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THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT:

A CRITICISM AND REJOINDERS. HAROLD HOETELLING, PITIRIM A. SOROKIN, LOUIS GUTTMAN, ERNEST W. BURGESS. *American Journal of Sociology*, 48:61-86, July 1942.

The prediction of the various phases of human behavior is a major problem, not only of the psychologist, but also of the workers in all fields connected with the human in society. The development of suitable mechanisms for application to the prediction of human behavior is an important obstacle confronting the scientific worker and the mathematical statistician. A great deal of the ineffectiveness and error in the field of applied statistics is due to the apparent sterility of viewpoint on the part of workers, in distinct but closely related fields, who are working on the development of statistical theories. The excessive departmentalization of the Social Sciences seems to be the cause of this ineffectiveness and error, in the development of theories in mathematical statistics. The lack of a cosmopolitan viewpoint, with an eye toward complete social function, fosters this difficulty for the statistician. There is not the benefit of collaborative work, between the various departments, which may lead to the development of a basic central theory of probability and prediction. The statistics that applies to psychology can also be used in other fields such as biology, industry, economics and any number of others.

Several major problems are presented; namely, the use and selection of pluralistic criteria, transfer of prediction from one sample set of criteria to another set, and the ability of workers in the social sciences to manipulate the formulas and theories of statistical prediction. Professor Hoetelling criticizes the original book for its emphasis on work in prediction in the field of psychology only, with the almost complete exclusion of work in prediction in other fields. Carelessness and lack of careful, professional and specialist attitude in its organization, detracts from the basic value of the book. Professor Hoetelling feels that he presents, conclusively, the method that

will give the maximum prediction efficiency from one sample of criteria transferred to another set. This method is the use of the least squares formulas. The problem is not in the selection of new methods of prediction, but in clarifying and perfecting the techniques for the selection of criteria to be used in the prediction formula. The basic formula group is one which is "linear in the constant coefficients. The squares, products, and other functions are multiplied by these constants." Examples are given illustrating the use that can be made of these formulas. He emphasizes the difficulties involved in the selection of criteria, when these criteria are based on extremely personal and subjective factors. The result, inadvertently, is only an approximation of the true state. This is due to the secretiveness of the individual whose case is to be studied, and whose success is to be predicted. The example given relates to the prediction of success in marriage for certain individuals. Professor Hoetelling feels that the statistical methods available are better than none at all. Greater emphasis on theory linked with practice may result in a substantial advance in this field of prediction. A realization of the limited educational facilities and opportunities for statistical study, of the caliber necessary for work in basic theory, should soften the criticism of the book as a whole.

Professor Sorokin feels that by not including the historical factor, in the development and use of statistical methods, limits the scope of the work and leads to results that are barren. The propositions presented, despite the above fault, are of value and are on solid ground. Too great an emphasis is placed on the mere mechanics and manipulations of formulas with a prime view to its beauty of structure, from the logical and mathematical standpoint. There is no recognition of its practicality, or how it functions in relation to definite social and cultural phenomena. The attempt to place prediction on a rigid scientific basis is commendable. To rely, however, on the majority opinion of authorities for the weighting and rating of criteria, shows a disregard for the developed scientific methods and principles, and is objectionable. Actually nothing new is add-

ed to the research work on prediction, all that is really done is a rehash of existing work done by others.

In the rejoinder, Mr. Guttman feels that the value of prediction is apparent, and the use of formulas for this work is necessary. The restriction to be placed on the general formula should be presented. The restriction is simply the factors which, when appearing in the general problem, will curtail the prediction efficiency of the formula. Recognition of the qualification is not apparent in the original book, nor in the symposium. In the use of formulas for predicting behavior aspects and recognizing variation, a completely contrary basic theory is presented, which negates the original's requirements for the transfer of prediction problems from one sample to another. Many times there will occur a case on which a high degree of predictability, for an entire problem, is presented. On the other hand, the predictability, for each of its component criteria taken separately, will be small. In regard to the competence of the social scientists in the field of mathematical statistics, the only thing to be said is that it is not of specialist caliber. The choice, definition of criteria, and problems of meaning, however, must rest with the social scientist.

Contrary to Professor Sorokin's criticism, Mr. Burgess feels that the work as presented is definitely of value. According to this rejoinder, the goal set by the authors deals with a definite research problem. This necessitates the limiting of the scope of approach. The great value of the work lies in the attempt to reconcile the case study method and the statistical method of prediction. The encouragement given to further work in this particular field is of definite value. Use of the known methods for the sifting, modification, and application of elements of the old to the new methods, has a very important place in the future work in this field and on this problem.

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THE PSYCHOPATHOLOGY OF THE HIT AND RUN DRIVER. LOWELL S. SELLING, M.D.
The American Journal of Psychiatry, 98:
93-98, June, 1941.

The number of automobiles on the road, due to the development of transport in the last two decades, has created a serious problem in personal relationships. From the psychiatrists' viewpoint, the hit and run driver is the most serious problem.

In the group of fifty cases studied, the unstable psychopath numbered 40 per cent, while the remaining 60 per cent were distributed through the egocentric personality, mentally defective, chronic alcoholic, schizoid personality, and psychoneurosis anxiety types. The mentally defective predominated in this latter group, showing 22 per cent of the cases; alcoholism, 10 per cent; egocentrics, 12 per cent; anxiety type, 4 per cent; schizoids, 10 per cent. Two per cent were without deviation. No psychotics were found in this group.

Dr. Selling considers the age of the individual as a minor factor, since there was a fairly consistent distribution of offenders in all age groups, with a negligible predominance in the 20-24 year group. Alcoholism, on the other hand, is a very important cause of hit and run driving. Of 500 cases of traffic violations studied, 62 per cent had been drinking. The factor of intelligence is also important when considering the hit and run driver, because 32 per cent of these drivers are defective. Upon examination of the educational level of the group, the range found is from the elementary school to college. Therefore, in the opinion of Dr. Selling, the degree of education does not manifest itself as a contributor to this type of crime. The distribution according to racial groups presented 90 per cent as white, and 10 per cent as negro offenders. In the hit and run group there is found a higher proportion of negroes than the percentage of negroes in the general population. This difference is negligible and does not enter as a factor in this offense. Knowledge of the law concerning these accidents was found to have some effect. The exact status of this factor has not been determined. In the consideration of driving experience, the survey found that length of time in

driving does not give the individual the degree of responsibility necessary to avert this type of crime. The hit and run driver group showed a high percentage of other traffic and criminal offenses. Economically, the group as a whole, is on a low level, and in many cases could not pay for the damage incurred.

The reasons for this flight tendency among this group of offenders can be classified under four headings. There is a large degree of claimed unawareness of the accident, although in all of the cases an increased speed is manifested when running away from the scene of the crime. Another group, notwithstanding, an entirely normal background, was found to express a fear of irrelevant factors. An example given is the case of a white man who had an accident in an entirely negro neighborhood. Fear of bodily harm made him flee, although there was no consciousness on the part of the onlookers as to the color of the offender. This class is the "non-background fear" group. The mentally retarded group evinced an ignorance of the need to stop, give aid to the injured, and then reporting the accident. In cases of property damage, the conclusion that the other driver was at fault and suffered a lesser degree of damage than the offender, resulted in flight from the scene. The fourth group, the schizoid, shows a complete disregard for damage done and offense committed. In the cases studied, no reason for running away appeared. Investigation determined the cause for this irrational behavior. There exists, in these individuals, a dichotomy between social responsibility and individual responsibility during the emotional crisis brought on by the accident.

Dr. Selling's conclusion embodies the material discussed in the article as a whole. Any defect in the mental or emotional adjustment to society, will manifest itself in the flight from the area of the mishap. The psychiatrist can make an important contribution to the solution to this problem. Certain recommendations are presented, which are derived from the material presented in this study.

The feeble-minded should be effectively educated in handling an automobile before being allowed to drive a car. The individual showing evidences of being psy-

choneurotic, should not be allowed to drive when in an unbalanced emotional state. The individuals with an unsavory background should be warned and their specific difficulties attacked from the psychiatrists' standpoint. Potential offenders should be recognized and given preventive training before the time that they are put into the position of committing the crime. This set of recommendations for preventive measures will aid effectively the solution of the problems brought up in this article.

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THE PSYCHIATRIST LOOKS AT DELINQUENCY
AND CRIME. WILLIAM HEALY. *The
Annals*, Sept. 1941. 217:67-75.

Dr. Healy begins his article with a definition of psychiatry which implies therapy of the psyche or mind. By this derivation it is implied that psychiatry is the science which undertakes the study and treatment of mental life as related to behavior. As a branch of medical science, it is concerned with whatever in its physical organism is related to mental function and also in its investigatory aspects, psychiatry has much in common with psychology, particularly the study of abnormal psychology and psychopathology. In the study of behavior involving delinquency and crime, the psychiatrist delves into phenomena of mental life which may not be considered abnormal, yet in which there is a need for a deep understanding in order that conduct tendencies may be reconstructed.

There has been a deep recognition of the importance of the interplay between external situations and the given individual with his particular reactive tendencies, leading to the closer rapport between psychiatry and sociology. Far from being merely a specialist in mental illness, a psy-

chiatrist nowadays is called upon to aid in solving many individual and social problems, which range from faulty childhood habits to marital disharmony and the grave social problems of delinquency and crime.

Volitional behavior is, of course, to be found in some form of mental representation of that behavior. Any delinquent or criminal act is volitional; it is consciously committed and is not the result of an automatic reflex that did not involve consciousness. Regardless of how fleeting or impulsive, some form of mental representation preceded the act. Since mental activity is involved, it rests with the psychiatrist to find out why or how the mind developed this idea of crime which, of course, resulted in antisocial behavior.

The advancement of psychiatry in the knowledge about the factors of the causation of delinquency and crime has been due to a large extent to the studies of individual cases. This has involved far more than the mere examination of offenders for classification and treatment in institutions. A total picture of the offender's personality has been developed so that the root of the crime could be uncovered. To designate an offender as merely a mental defective does not tell why he is an offender, when it is realized that the best proportion of morons are very decent, law-abiding citizens. The same is true about bad neighborhood conditions, alcoholic parents, broken homes, lack of religious instruction in the homes, or any other one condition or circumstance which on the surface makes for the appearance of criminal tendencies. Psychiatric case studies have definitely proven that criminal tendencies arise through a complex of causes. The external stimuli which tend to produce anti-social conduct are prevalent in varying degrees in many social and other environmental situations, but whether they do or do not provoke the response of anti-social behavior in a given individual is a matter dependent upon his response tendencies, and response tendencies are established on a basis of peculiarities of the functioning of the physical and psychological organisms, the most immediate connecting relationship being between emotional attitudes and the display of particular types of conduct.

Question is often aroused regarding cases where criminal and non-criminal offspring emanate from the same family and from the same home conditions. It is well recognized that an enormous percentage of criminal carers have their beginning in childhood or early outh. However, careful study reveals that fundamental matters such as poverty and poor living conditions, health, count little in comparison with fundamental human desires, such as the desire to be wanted or loved in the family circle. These satisfactions are highly related to emotional life of a person and frustration often results in criminal behavior.

Recidivism is more or less an unexplainable phenomena inasmuch as a very large percentage of individuals who behave in an anti-social manner continue in that type of behavior regardless of rules, regulations and punishment. The question appropriately enough arises as to whether or not repeaters are lacking in farsightedness, or does the economic gains of crime outweigh the dangers of a prison sentence, or does this type of behavior arise only at intervals which are based in the individual's emotional life. The psychiatrist speculates on these all-important questions, but agree that much deeper research will have to take place before the answer is found.

Psychiatric study regarding the mental life of criminals reveals that there has been considerable thinking about criminalism in which an inner debate has taken place regarding the positive and negative aspects of some particular crime and goes even further as to question whether criminal acts should be engaged in at all. It is also pointed out that actual case study shows that particular environment causes recurrence of certain acts which result in repetitive criminal activities. This statement also leads to speculation about the patterning of the person's ideational life.

Idleness in many prisons allows the prisoner a tremendous number of unoccupied hours of phantasies. Experience shows that overt behavior during incarceration has little correlation with what the individual will do after release. It has shown by definite study that the phantasy life of many prisoners reveals daily imagining and planning of bigger and better crimes, and

the persuading of others to dwell on such possibilities. This is verified by actual studies with inmates. If this phantasy life could be controlled or influenced constructively by the psychiatrists, it is within the realm of possibility that recidivism could be considerably decreased. Psychoanalytic explanations of the causations of criminal behavior assert that some is caused by the identification of the child with a parent who adheres to faulty standards. Such behavior may also be caused from a guilt sense, and a consequent feeling of a need for punishment. Likewise, there is the neurotic criminal, who expresses his reactions by criminalism instead of by physical symptoms, as in the cases of other neurotics. The author admits that the cause of social and personality complications arising as the result of repeated criminality, the treatment of such subtle causes presents quite a problem.

As society becomes more complex it becomes necessary that individuals' mental, emotional, and his physical equipment, form the basis of exhibition of a well-balanced personality. Inability of some to master behavior impulses which follow as reaction to stimuli often result in asocial behavior. This inability may be the result of pathology. By this is meant abnormal personalities that are constitutionally defective in inhibitory powers by inheritance or by failure of certain portions of the brain tissues to develop adequately. The net result is frequently confusing in ascertaining definite pathology of personality disorders, since it is often very difficult to disentangle the biological from the social factors in the production of delinquency in criminality.

The difficulties in classifying personality disorders makes statistical percentages regarding their extent very unreliable. The percentages run from fourteen to forty-five, which definitely shows the variations in diagnosis. In an unfinished study related by the author, it is stated that once started in delinquency, the vast majority of the cases continued on in careers of crime regardless of changes in environment and treatment. He further states that enough was proved to demonstrate that individuals lacking in inhibitory powers require placement in a quiet, regulated, non-stimulating environment. Some few

cases afforded such conditions showed while their much lessened antisocial behavior.

The psychiatrist hopes to contribute his skill and training in the treatment of the offender and through the study of mental life, impulses, ideas, lead him away from his ideas of crime.

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MISANTHROPIC DELUSIONS, ATTITUDES AND ASSOCIATED CHARACTER ANOMOLIES. MORRIS D. RIENER, M.D. *Psychiatric Quarterly*. 14:556-567, July, 1940.

The term "misanthropic" as used by the author, relates to those individuals who are not clearly defined and identified as abnormal and psychotic but who do vary from the accepted normal person. Their ideas are for the most part not mere reflections of thoughts but are resolute convictions on the part of the individual. They are often referred to as radicals, reformers, cynics, or in many cases are just thought of as peculiar. Their ideation embodies usually a persecution reaction toward everyone, but not to the extent where they may be considered psychotic. Studies of these patients indicate that such ideas are usually expressed and openly voiced by relatively few of the sufferers. Close scrutiny of a patient from convictions, his accompanying reaction and conduct, show that his ideas are essentially directional and serve to dominate the individual.

Such cases present many difficulties to the physician, since this misanthrope is seclusive and makes very little social contact and the forming of really intimate relationships becomes next to impossible. Sympathetic undersanding on the part of the physician often arouses the suspicion of the patient and results in a withdrawal. The greatest difficulty encountered by the physician is the general distrust of the patient and inability to secure his confidences.

Many character abnormalities are present, and these are thrown together in a defense or distrust of all mankind in general, and the physician in particular. The patient is acutely sensitive, and has distressing feelings of inferiority, and rouses his defenses to fight off this feeling. The typical misanthrope develops the ability for picking out minute faults universally present in everyone and is used as justification for total condemnation for whatever has been said or done by the other person. These conclusions result in many arguments, the tendency to renounce and reject, and disregard for what the psychotherapist or other person does or says. This trait forms the greatest resistance to psychotherapy.

Also present in the misanthrope is the tendency to doubt, which is again an excellent defense mechanism developed to ward off the intrusion of reality in the patient's mind. Included also in this doubting state is the positive-negative attitude expressed by many such individuals, who take special pride in always leaving a loophole for themselves to get out of.

Predominant in many patients' minds is the phantasy that he is an unrecognized genius, an intellectual giant, or other feelings of superiority. These thoughts may often be accompanied by physical changes, such as changes in posture, etc. Associated with these ideas are pleasure feelings of which the patient is not always aware but which are sometimes expressed as feelings of ecstasy or inspiration.

These patients are most difficult to treat because of their inaccessibility, which

may be the result of inability to comprehend, concentrate, or a reaction not unlike amnesia which causes the patient to forget or have material slip out of the mind altogether. The author refers to this as a defense device which protects the individual from the outside world and the painful feelings within the self.

The mechanisms involved in the symptomatology regarding these individuals are grouped as follows:

1. "Protection," gained by warding off "inimical agents."
2. Increased self esteem.
3. Projection of the patient's hostility.
4. Inability of the misanthrope to divert his aggressiveness.
5. Symptoms and traits as vehicles for hostility.
6. Narcissism needs.

These individuals form a great part of the vast army of neer-do-wells, hoboes, and parasites, who depend on the community for sustenance. They may visit clinics for hypochondriacal complaints, and present much uncertainty as to the psychotic nature of abnormalities. When these abnormalities are noticed to a marked extent the patient should be carefully studied for evidence of psychosis. Those individuals who moderately adjust to reality but suffer from a few of the aforementioned illogical defects can be classified as borderline type of neuroses, or may be suffering from a marked character disorder.

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C — Anthropology & Sociology

OPTIMISM AND FRUSTRATION IN THE AMERICAN NEGRO. CHARLES V. CHARLES. *Psychoanalytic Review*. 29:270-300, July, 1942.

Optimism is dead and it died of vanity is the refrain which runs through Richard Wright's "Native Son." The frustrations of Bigger Thomas, chief character, stimulate him until in the end it burns him out furiously. The law of diminish-

ing returns applies to his criminal career. The optimism that seeks satisfaction in immediate contingencies is often criminal and hence ineffectual and uneconomic.

The story, "Native Son" is a story of unlucky Negro youth. Bigger Thomas is characteristically of the Black Belt. His criminal career begins early. He learns that Negroes may not join the Air Corps or the Army except in humiliating capacities. In the meantime, philanthropists con-

tribute ping-pong tables to the Y.M.C.A.'s but never understand his needs. He is angry, sullen, over-assertive, a petty thief who up to now robs only other Negroes. He lies; intimidates his mother and sister. He and his friends decide to rob a liquor store owned by a white man but do not go through with it in fear of white reprisal. He accepts a job with a rich family. One night he assists the drunken daughter to bed. He is discovered by the blind mother; smothers the daughter with a pillow in an attempt to stifle her groans as he realizes the impossibility of his position if he is found in the room. Unfortunately he has snuffed the life out of the girl. At first he is fearful; then he feels he has done something big—killed a white person. He takes money from the girl's purse. He burns the body in the family furnace and then begins a further career of outwitting the police. Bessie, his lover, wrings a confession of guilt from him. He kills Bessie and does not take the money from her body with which he had bought her favor. Every time Bigger Thomas thinks of white people, he feels them in his belly. He is physically hallucinated.

A negro does not like to work for another Negro. In going to work for white people, the foster child phantasy is partially realized. He feels Mrs. Dalton, the rich woman, is a parent image. The working for white people is interpreted as an acquisition of power which is paraded before companions as a superior achievement. The killing of Mary Dalton facilitates the emergence of the rebirth fantasy.

Bigger Thomas' narcissism is extreme. His moods fluctuate. His sense of guilt is strong. Emotional tensions and dissociations are directly traceable to his youth. His feelings of inadequacy explain his stealing. The killings have a flavor of compulsion neurosis. He finds no need for love of others. His outstanding personality trait is megalomania. Neurosis and regression finds expression in his abundant phantasy life which phantasies are mostly autistic. He is subject to unreasoning fears and is beset by many obsessions and doubts. Self depreciation and unworthiness assume unnatural proportions. His behavior is ambivalent. He is sensitive to being laughed at and rejects religion and other cultural value. Thomas expects so-

ciety to adopt a paternalistic attitude toward which is traceable to his emotional dependence developed by his mother. Continued frustrations cause neurotic manifestations to come to the surface. He is fearful of white districts and carries a gun whenever he enters them. He can be diagnosed as: distorted emotionally with intelligence intact, therefore, he is not psychotic; he is not an epileptic, therefore, he is neurotic. Though the behavior of Bigger Thomas seems unquestionably resultant from his being a Negro, on the basis of a more definite appreciation of the psychological forces at work it is believed he is basically a neurotic individual caught in the maze of his own conflicting emotions and the crimes are resorted to in the endeavor to relieve unbearable emotional tensions. He is a neurotic; being a Negro is incidental.

The optimism of the American negro is an escape from the vicious social pressure to which he is subjected. The Negro attempts to imitate the white man by whitening his skin and straightening his hair. Eventually he gives up the struggle and sinks to a level of esteem for self of the same calibre as possessed by the white man. The American Negro in his present cultural setting is limited and makes adjustment at a lower than desired level.

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SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION. S. A. QUEEN. *Amer. Soc. Rev.* 6: 307-319, June, 1941.

A critical examination of two frames of reference for the study of sociological aspects of social problems is made. An attempt to define social problems is not made.

Social disorganization is a verbal symbol of a frame of reference. Unfortunately the concept has not been clearly and sufficiently defined. Various writers used the term to "describe a state of affairs at a given time and also to identify a change." Definite criteria for the identification of the concept to groups are needed. Social

groups grow and decline in numbers, material resources and consensus. The first two are easily identified and measured. Consensus includes: facts of contacts, interaction, joint behavior, symbols, esprit de corps, and morale. Social problems such as widowhood, migration, or desertion involve changes in group membership and contacts. Others (unemployment, sickness, or accident) are accompanied by changes in the interaction and roles of group members. *Social disorganization* in general and at large is too vague a concept to be serviceable in either research or teaching: it can be used in the study of specific types of groups and institutions.

While the concept *social disorganization* is applied to the study of groups and culture complexes, it has also been applied erroneously to the study of the disorganization of personality. *Social participation* is the term to use as a frame of reference for the study of persons in their social relations. Precise criteria have been developed for the identification of various kinds of social participation and several scales have been produced for the measurement of degrees of social participation. Several ways of going about the study of social participation in relation to social problems are: (1) a sample of persons known to be active in social groups and to possess a wealth of cultural experience, (2) another sample of persons whose range of contacts is known to be narrow and cultural experience meagre, (3) another project would involve a comparison of social participation indexes of persons representing a given physical, mental, economic, or other characteristics, with the index of persons not having that trait, (4) another would be the social participation of persons before and after experiencing some crisis such as amputation, loss of sight, discharge from job, conviction of crime, or loss of a loved one.

Both these frames of reference may be useful in the development of a "sociology of social problems." Much of the work done so far has been lax, terms are vague, criteria ill-defined, data are not assembled in orderly fashion, inferences have been drawn casually rather than systematically, etc. These faults are not resultant from the frames of reference, rather, they indi-

cate poor training, carelessness, and impatience on the part of sociologists.

Comment. Mabel A. Elliott. No frame of reference for social problems is justified except as it contributes to the understanding of the problems. Social disorganization is a much broader and hence more satisfactory framework for considering the multiplicity of disruptive forces which produce problems of social pathology. To employ "social participation" as an exclusive frame of reference is as futile as any of the particularistic theories of earlier years.

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POLICE AND TRIBAL WELFARE IN PLAINS INDIAN CULTURES. NORMAN D. HUMPHREY. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 33:147-161, July-August, 1942.

Among the Plains Indians studied, the tribal organization upon political lines consisted of an executive, the chief; the lawmakers, the council; the police force, the fraternal societies. The group, to whom police powers were designated, were at all times subject to the executive will. Though these groups exercised tremendous power in the community, the chief always had the final say in regulating their activities. Sometimes enforcement of codes were delegated to the outstanding individual braves rather than to organizations. This was the exception to the general rule. The arrangement of the lodges in camp gives some clue as to the relationship existing between the chief and these police organizations. In the circle arrangement of tipis, with the chief's lodge in the center of the camp, the societies' lodges were right next to the headman's. This camp structure was of symbolic value and afforded an expedient location for covering the camp from a central focal point. During definitely assigned periods the law enforcement agencies had complete control over the activities of the tribe. The hunt, movement of the tribe, and within the camp itself, were all activi-

ties over which the society exercised the powers of punishment and apprehension of violators of the rules of the community. The origin of these police functions in relation to societal groups, does not evoke a unanimity of theoretical opinions. There are several hypotheses advanced. None may be correct, but a synthesis of all three may very well approximate the true development of these functions, and their subsequent allocation. The three most widely accepted suggestions are namely; combination of individuals to whom police powers were designated, allocation of authority to already existing societies; or both may have had parallel development within the culture. Crime preventative measures were enforced, apprehension and punishment of criminals, guarding against enemy attacks, and the prevention of free lance hunting during the hunt period, activities under the direct supervision of the law societies. An extreme set of punishments and rules controlled the transgression of the law against free lance hunting. This was necessary because of the need for the equitable distribution of the kill, and to prevent predatory and licentious attacks upon the source of food.

The term of office of these groups lasted for one full season or year. In addition to the above mentioned duties, the mediation of intra-camp disputes, and the prevention of provocative attacks upon peaceful neighbors came under their jurisdiction. In the types of punishment meted, great lassitude in the severity of chastisement existed. The more severe sentences consisted of complete expropriation of all property, severe beatings, and banishment. Very rarely was a death sentence passed. Many times, if the culprit accepted punishment graciously, restitution of confiscated property was made by the society. As a by-product of their particular position in the community, they inadvertently, by their power status, prevented any changes in the political status quo. Members were very happy to serve as officers, since appointment was a source of great prestige. Only the most judicious, brave, and trustworthy members or societies were designated as a policing group.

To continue benevolent relations with the supernatural beings, violators of tabus, who might bring misfortune to the com-

munity, were summarily tried and severely chastised. Tribal welfare was thus secured, the spirits were appeased and their all-consuming wrath diverted. As 'warehouse' men, their control and distribution of the food supply averted the presence of famine periods.

The functions of these societies entered every phase of community life, and tribal existence. Their work kept the morale and welfare of the community at a high level.

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AMERICAN STATUS SYSTEMS AND THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE CHILD. ALLISON DAVIS. *American Sociological Review*, June, 1941, pp. 345-356.

The author's aim in presenting this paper is to call attention to the fundamental importance in America of age, sex, and class instigations and goals in the socialization of the human organism. The nature of the striving instigations and the prestige responses which appear to motivate children's internalization of Social control (?) is not understood. Likewise it is not clear what "prestige," "approval," "acceptance," and "mastery" are in terms of bio-psychological dynamics. The physiologist has not yet satisfied himself concerning the biologic processes as regards responses of man but it does seem clear that these "biologic times" reach their psychological threshold only in socially determined form.

In the case of infants it is pointed out that social stimulus is revealed by the fact that infants in the presence of visitors, reject food, smile and vocalize which indicates that social instigations and goals are integrated into the motivational pattern of the child, even at the infantile stage. The psychological drives become increasingly obscured as weaning, cleanliness, and genital training are internalized. Thus a child learns (acquires dissemination) not by being denied or allowed to achieve biologically pleasant states but also by experiencing acceptance, approval or disapproval as expressed in social symbols of age pres-

tige. The appearance of the mother to the infant reveals that he values her chiefly as a means for food and rest and as an individual who can relieve his anxiety and other mental as well as physical needs. In other words, to the child, the mother is the adult who ranks first in his age hierarchy to the extent that he can control her.

Regardless of the psychological nature of the prestige responses, all forms of rank and status in our present society are maintained by the enforcement of biological, emotional and social privileges. This is shown in various ways; a child's hair is cut differently from an adult, adults usually sit at the head of the dinner table, certain language and tones are forbidden to the child and clothes symbolize age and sex rank. Also occupational, financial, associational and recreational behavior are to a large extent ordered by age, class and caste in America.

As a result of these social hierarchies, there are resultant socially controlled antagonisms between the levels of the hierarchy. The child sees that patronage, protection and mastery are the socially prescribed behavior of the superordinate to the subordinate.

As socialization proceeds, these controls are internalized as adaptive forms of anxiety and this approved anxiety of the child may be an instigation either to strive for or flee from appropriate behavior.

Thus it is that the child's learning of that behavior which is appropriate to his age and sexual status is motivated not only by social instigations, but also by the emotional interaction between him and his parents and siblings.

The author believes that age subordination is very important as a difficult adjustment for the first or only child to make. He points out that sexual differences permit a different mode of conduct in relation to family work and in many

ways women can bring to bear a certain aggression and cleverness which gives them an advantage. Sex appropriate or inappropriate behavior is complicated in early childhood especially by the bi-sexual nature of the individual. The degree to which he adjusts this to the later social demands of the community and to the emancipation of himself from the family will determine to a large extent his social success in later life.

In America the sex appropriate role is made at adolescence. Since the woman, however, is more advanced in maturity than the man of the same age, social differences in the sexes during adolescence are quite marked. The author calls attention to the negro preadolescents who are allowed many privileges with conventionalities not accorded their elders.

Social class relationships are extensions of family relationships. Thus the social pattern of the individual is formed during early life. Differences in environment during that period likewise formulate later social patterns and we cannot expect the middle-class family, of course, to bear an individual socially in the same way that a member of a wealthy family would do. These cultures are brought into the classroom and are modified to an extent by the democracy that exists there. As the middle class child grows older, however, he begins to experience some of the prestige responses. If he is unable to progress out of the middle-class milieu, he tends to revert to the pattern of his earlier family life. If lower-class children are to escape from this bondage, it is necessary, first, to remove the class punishments from the lower-class child within the school society and, secondly, to award his striving for prestige in the community.

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D - Social & Statistics

DELINQUENCY AND CRIME. VICTOR H. EVJEN. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*. 33:136-146, July-August, 1942.

To deal effectively with wartime delinquency, the cause of this phenomenon must be thoroughly investigated, so as to determine the exact effect of war upon the increase and decrease of delinquency. Rises in the incidence of crime have exaggeratedly been attributed to the exclusive effects of the hostilities. Carelessness and incompleteness of investigation and data at hand are mainstays of this exaggerated view, in relation to specific types of offenses. Changes in the kind of war alter the war-delinquency producing factors. A modification of our habituated attitudes concerning the relationship of war to crime is of prime necessity. The peace time contributors and causes of lawlessness; poverty, bad housing, and lack of recreational and educational facilities, are intensified by the struggle. These are not the primary factors of crime but are the contributory and stimulating causes. The impression, in this country, that there will not be an increase in delinquency until we are subjected to the direct physical destructiveness of bombings and resultant evacuations, is completely fallacious and unfounded. The war will create pressures upon our social milieu, which are in some ways materially different from England but essentially there are enough forces present to produce the overt criminality from the potentially delinquent reserve which is not manifest during peacetime.

A study of English statistics shows the predominant delinquency increase to be in the age group under 14. The smallest increase being in the 17-21 year category. In the adult classification, all those over 21, there has been a 12 percent decrease in crime. These statistics, if conclusive, tend to confirm the knowledge of characteristic decreases among adults and increases among children, of the incidence in criminal offenses. Mobilization into the armed forces and industrial program would ma-

terially reduce the number of offenders among adults, and older adolescents.

In the United States, there has been no material on juvenile delinquency published. There has been an increase in the number of major crimes but this increase is negated by the increase in population during the same period, 1940-41. In England, the Library of Information has published information designating the crime producing factors. Evacuations and the aftermath of living with strangers away from parental control; increased earnings by adolescents and the subsequent feeling of independence and freedom; living in shelters with all types of people, including the unsavory groups of petty thieves and prostitutes; blackouts and the increased opportunities for crimes; closing of schools and recreational facilities resulting in a malignant vicious use of leisure time; all of these influence the children and expose them to stimuli leading to the development of delinquency. An interesting note concerns one type of offense. Children's games among the ruins of buildings and the appropriation of a seemingly useless article, from these ruins, has resulted in prosecutions. These may very well influence the rates of recorded delinquency, since these prosecuting activities are widespread.

In the United States, the war has opened up new horizons for criminal activities. Rationing and shortages in materials will result in opportunities for stealing, smuggling and bootlegging of scarce goods. These opportunities will be enlarged by the utilization of the black market facilities for transfer of these stolen goods, and a capitalization of the demand for these materials. The rate of adult crime is reduced due to the large numbers of adults being absorbed into the expanding army and industry. A sense of belonging to the war effort and pride in the participation in constructive work, the first time for many offenders, have contributed to the decrease. Favorable response to regimentation and the rehabilitative effect of Army life, results in the diversion of po-

tential criminal proclivities toward wholesome and constructive channels.

The future of probation, parole and other social services, depends upon the foresightedness of the officials conducting the war. A curtailment of social services at this time would be quite harmful and in many ways disastrous. What is really needed, is a greatly expanded program to meet the increased demand for social work engendered by the advent of war. The parole boards and officers are cooperating with draft officials relative to the selection of parolees for induction into the armed forces. Many of these probationers are making excellent records in the army. The release of prisoners, who meet the requirements of induction, is a practice followed by many parole boards. Minor parole violators are given the opportunity of entering the army rather than returning to a penal institution. The willingness of prisoners to serve their country has been amply demonstrated by their offers for service in suicide squadrons and other branches. Parole officers are now instructing employers in the changes in rulings governing the employment of felons in government contract jobs. Most of the employers do not realize that parolees are eligible for employment in War Industry. The Civil Service Commission has suspended the two year ruling on the acceptance of felons' applications. Now the recommendation of the parole board and warden allows conditional acceptance of these applications for government work. Cooperation with the War Department relative to the determination of a former prisoner's status with regard to the Army, is now one of them any duties of these parole boards.

Prisoners have contributed materially to the war effort. A great deal of the work now going on in most Federal prisons, is war work; and the construction of vitally needed small parts for bombs, guns, torpedoes, and numerous non-combatant materials for use in the armed services contributes several hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of equipment to the fight against the Axis. Recently, State Prisons were allowed to do production work for the Federal Government. The spirit of the prisoners is evidenced by war stamp purchases, donations, blood bank contribu-

tions, and many other activities, which are helping the war effort.

In conclusion, an expansion of all existing social welfare facilities and a greater degree of cooperation between these agencies and the war effort, will, in effect, determine the future status of the Social Service agencies. Their continuance is of vital necessity to the country and the war effort as a whole.

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WAR TIME DELINQUENCY. ELEANOR T. GLUECK. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 32:119-135, July-August, 1942.

The impact of the war upon our society has created a multiplicity of problems which the nation must solve if it is not to have a terrible aftermath of chaotic years. The delinquency among adolescents brought on by the war is a major problem. Since the advent of war, there has been a tremendous increase in juvenile crime. In certain sections of the country, the aspects of a crime wave are present. For example, the increase in crimes among youths ranges from 2-110 percent over an equal period last year. There may be other factors contributing to this rise, but the most important factor is the war itself.

In studying the English statistics, in months of the war, there was a drop in the number of cases reported, of crime among the young. Since then, however, there has been an increase of approximately 63 percent. A significant aspect is a drop of 23 percent in delinquency among normals and a 600 percent increase among subnormal juveniles, in specifically the dull and borderline groups. The severe dislocation in the normal social milieu has handicapped the subnormal, and the defective is unable to make the necessary adjustments to the new demands of so-

ciety. The impact upon these individuals is tremendous and all too sudden for their ability to acclimate themselves to new situations.

In studying the causes for the increase of delinquency, subnormality alone was not found to be the prime causative factor. Bad or substandard famial conditions appear to be the most important factor in delinquency. Well cared for defectives were rarely among the ranks of the offenders. The causes of delinquency in war time are basically the same as in peace time, except that disturbances and aberrations in societal relationships strain the reserves of the younger members of society and result in a disintegration of the social consciousness.

Broken homes, due to the parents working all day and numerous evacuations, parents working in other cities leaving the young to fend for themselves until suitable shelter is found, poor and insufficient housing in industrial defense areas, lack of recreational facilities, overcrowding, no place to release excess energy, blackouts, and long hours in overcrowded shelters, all contribute to the rise in delinquency, and a breaking down of the morals of the younger population.

In England, the author found that effective methods, for the control of the increase in the numbers of delinquents, do not differ substantially from those used effectively in peace time. An increase and greater variety of recreational and educational and social opportunities to meet the the diversified interests and needs of the younger group, cuts down materially the rate of juvenile delinquency. Keeping the young people in school, and preventing truancy can be accomplished by making the school the community center for the perusal of the varied juvenile interests in sports, games and hobbies. Permanent camps, supplying inexpensive holidays for younger workers, builds wholesome habits for making use of leisure time. The younger element, 17, 18, and 19, are earning sizeable amounts of money. A spirit of cockiness and exaggerated degree of independence are apparent. This results in a more or less complete break from the home environment. These people in "going on their own" fall in, many times,

with bad and unsavory elements. The reason for the drop in delinquency in the early months of the war can be explained simply as a complete identification, of each individual, with the national danger and the need for united defense. This heightened state of excitement soon becomes the normal and the hanging together spirit soon dies away.

Ideas for the control of delinquency in War Time America can be resolved from the experience of the British. Improvement of the conditions among the underprivileged groups, increase in the school facilities, recreational services, and above all the development, among the youth of the land, of a feeling of identity and contribution toward the war effort as a whole. Increases in the health services, adequate relief for those whose earnings do not allow for stable home conditions, and greater recognition of the factor of medical attention for the lower income groups, will all contribute to a reduction in crime among the adolescents.

In dealing with cases of a decrease in the moral standards of the youth, especially among young girls, care must be taken so as to provide for normal contacts between the new soldiers and workers coming into a town and the townsgirls themselves. These contacts will take place and the least we can do is to have them occur in places where supervision can take place. Curtailment of adolescent girls activities around army camps must be invoked, and supervision of these activities must be ingenious and refined. Increased guidance for those of a feeble minded status is also a pre-requisite for a decrease and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

All of these measures taken as a complete unity, and modified to meet the specific local conditions, will aid immeasurably in the reduction of crime among the youth of the country during the war.

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THE INSANITY PLEA IN MURDER. CHARLES A. RYMER. *American Journal of Psychiatry*. 98:690-697, March, 1942.

This paper aims to discuss certain procedures which while in the spirit of the law have in a certain sense frustrated the same spirit. Sixty-three murder cases are examined under a law which permits the defense of insanity in any criminal offense. When the plea was entered, the cases were confined to the hospital (Colorado Psychopathic Hospital) for observation varying from 10 days to one month. A report is then furnished the court. Since the enactment of the law in 1927, 482 offenders entered pleas of insanity. Of these, 141 or 29 per cent were adjudged insane and 341 or 71 per cent were found to be sane. Of the 63 cases charged with murder, 22 or 35 per cent were insane.

Legal controversy was encountered in only two of these cases in accepting the hospital's findings by both the defense attorney and district attorney. In these two cases a witness appeared from the hospital and testified to the nature of the defendant's psychosis. Of 8 of the 41 accused of murder and reported sane at the time of the crime, the defense chose to maintain the plea of not guilty by the reason of either temporary or permanent insanity and refused the findings of the hospital. The court contest then centered around the defendant's knowledge of the difference of psychiatric opinion has arisen in those cases only in which the crime was punishable by death. The hospital's findings were substantiated by the jury in 5 cases. None of the cases received the death penalty. As a rule their sentences were lighter than those for persons committing comparable crimes.

This group of eight cases forms the nucleus of this discussion. Certain legal and psychiatric practices make it possible for a defendant to avoid punishment in keeping with the nature of his crime. These practices include: (1) technicalities which prevent a mental examination immediately after committing a crime, (2) qualification of the jury especially in cases of capital punishment, and (3) the use of the insanity plea to:

show mitigating circumstances, raise the question of the inability of defendant to determine right from wrong, raise the question of irresistible impulse, show existing amnesia and absence of intent, raise question of mental condition, etc.

The defense of temporary insanity is not a valid one as such a condition does not exist. This defense is used solely to escape punishment. If society wishes to excuse the act of murder in certain circumstances, it is necessary to have a more outright formulation prepared of the conditions under which murder may be considered legal.

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EXPERIENCES WITH A NEW CRIMINAL CODE IN NEW YORK STATE. BENJAMIN APFELBERG. *American Journal of Psychiatry*. 98:415-421, Nov., 1941.

Before September 1, 1939, defendants indicted on felony charges in New York City whose sanity appeared in doubt were examined by a Lunacy Commission of three members, appointed by the judge of the court. Before 1936, none of the members legally required any psychiatric knowledge or training. The Lunacy Commission usually comprised a physician, lawyer and lay person. In 1936, the law was amended requiring that one of the three be a qualified psychiatrist. Qualified psychiatrists are certified by a board known as the Board of Psychiatric Examiners consisting of State Commissioner of Hygiene, the head of the department of psychiatry or of neurology and psychiatry of a medical college in New York State appointed by the State Commissioner of Education, the State Commissioner of Correction and a physician selected by the Council of the Medical Society of the State of New York. In order to qualify, physicians must be licensed to practice medicine in New York State and to have had at least five years actual practice of which either two years full time practice have been spent in the

care and treatment of persons suffering from mental diseases or defects in an institution providing for the care of such persons and having accommodations for at least 50 patients, or five years practice devoted to the care and treatment of persons suffering from nervous and mental diseases or defects, or else three years experience in a clinic approved by the board devoted to the diagnosis and care of mental disorders and whose competency is certified to by two psychiatrists duly qualified by the provisions of this act. Applicants must also fulfill additional requirements as set by the board from time to time. A recent added requirement is that applicants must have had experience in out-patient clinics only and that they must have had a minimum of 800 hours experience in such clinic.

Before 1936, it was required that only an opinion as to whether the defendant was in suitable mental condition to stand trial was to be expressed. The amendment in 1936 stipulated that a report was to be made as to the mental state of the defendant at the time of the commission of crime. The use of a lunacy commission was not mandatory but was optional with the court.

The new law provides that those charged with criminal offenses must be given the psychiatric examination only by experienced psychiatrists employed in public hospitals and that the psychiatrists are only to render a report of the defendant's sanity at the time of the commission of the crime. The psychiatrists do not have to report on the defendant's sanity at the time of the commission of the crime. A section of the law provides that when the court recognizes that there is reasonable ground for believing an indicted person is in such a state of idiocy, imbecility, or insanity that he is 'incapable of understanding the proceedings or

of making his defense or if the defendant pleads insanity, the court may order the defendant to be examined to determine his sanity." If the defendant is charged with an offense which is not a crime and if the qualified psychiatrists who examined him report that though he is incapable of understanding the charge against him or making his defense but deem the defendant's discharge not dangerous to the public peace and safety, the court may suspend the proceedings and release the defendant either on bail or probation. When he is no longer in such a state of insanity as to be incapable or understanding the charge, the court shall require that he be brought again into custody and the proceedings against him resumed."

Several amendments to the existing law are proposed: (1) provision should be made for giving power to the magistrates' courts to commit to state schools for mental defectives, (2) judges in all criminal courts should have the power of commitment either to a state school under the Department of Mental Hygiene or to an institution for defective delinquents under the Department of Correction providing the defendants have been convicted of a criminal offense, (3) judges of the magistrates' courts and Special Sessions in their discretion in certain cases may declare on the commitment orders that if the qualified psychiatrists find the defendant psychotic the psychiatrists may proceed under the Mental Hygiene Law in securing a commitment order to a mental hospital from a Supreme Court Justice and the court will be notified of such commitment and the state hospital will notify the court when the defendant has recovered sufficiently to stand trial.

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E - Medicine & Biology

BRAIN POTENTIALS AND MORPHINE ADDICTION. H. L. ANDREWS. *Psychosomatic Medicine*, 3:399-409, October, 1941.

The investigations of Gibbs, Lennox, Jasper and others in the field of Electroencephalography have indicated that the alpha wave rhythm frequency, as well as its incidence, remains constant for the same individual under normal circumstances but that variations occur in frequency, amplitude and incidence when that individual is subjected to various disease processes or other factors which tend to change the physiology of the brain. The present study relates itself to two types of experiment; namely, the effect of withdrawal upon the brain potential records of a series of 50 men during maintained addiction to morphine and a second series of men whose addiction had been terminated for a period of a year. An auxiliary study was also made of large single doses in the latter group.

A four channel amplifier with oscillograph and photograph recordings was utilized. Both the bipolar and monopolar methods of recording were used. A 50-candlepower auto headlight was used as a light stimulus. In the series in which morphine was administered during the withdrawal until moderate abstinence signs appeared, daily doses were given from that point on until the individual was stabilized for a period of at least seven days. In the post-addict series all psychotics, syphilitics, head trauma cases and mental defectives below the mental age of 12 years were eliminated. Single dose studies were given to addicts who had no drugs for at least one year. Records were made prior to injection and hourly thereafter until subjective drug effects had disappeared.

The most striking feature was the abnormally large amount of alpha activity present to some extent in all leads but lowest in the occipital precentage by the monopolar method (it is a well-known fact that the normal record shows progressive diminution in amplitude and frequency from the occipital toward the frontal region). The actively addicted

group was characterized by the complete absence of any alpha percentage below 30 and by an abnormally large number of individuals in the 80-90% and in the 90-100% groups. It was only in the 30-60% range that any approach to the so-called normal was indicated in this series.

In the post addiction group studies the occipital distribution of alpha activity was different from both the addict and the normal groups. The 60-70% range dropped and continued well below the normal curve until the 90-100% range was attained. In other words, the post-addicts fell into either of the extreme percentage decades at the expense of the 60-90% range which is characteristic of the normal group. The decrease in the occipital alpha index in withdrawal of the addict group showed two types of variations; namely, a delay in the response running up to as much as 15 days and a second group in which the response was immediate upon withdrawal. In these types small fluctuations can be observed throughout a period of several months and the record apparently represents the true cortical activity of that individual when he is not under addiction.

The single dose studies having a subcutaneous dose of 20 mg. of morphine given to individuals in which the addiction had been terminated at least a year showed no change in brain potential rhythms except for mild alpha blocking time. Much larger doses give severe subjective symptoms even to the point of vomiting without a corresponding proportional change in the brain potentials.

The author comments on the delta wave activity (slow wave rhythm) but does not assign any particular significance to the appearance of this type of wave in the studies.

The author concludes that the primary action of morphine is not on the cortex or on the cortico-thalamic circuits. He is inclined to believe that the region of the hypothalamus is involved as is shown by the subjective signs of withdrawal which bear a marked resemblance to symptoms elicited by stimulation of the hypothalamic region. Most changes in brain

potential in conditions other than morphinism seem to be due to a lowered state of excitation in the cortico-thalamic system probably as the result of lowered oxygen utilization by the cortical cells. Severe cases of morphine addiction may involve the cortico-thalamic system as well as the hypothalamic region but in ordinary dosages this does not occur.

V. C. B.

ELECTRO-ENCEPHALOGRAPHIC STUDIES IN DELINQUENT PROBLEM CHILDREN. NORMAN BRILL, HERTA SEIDEMANN, HELEN MONTAGUE AND BEN H. BALSEN. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 98:494-498, January, 1942.

Early investigations by the E. E. G. method have revealed distinctive brain patterns for epilepsy, as well as being of great assistance in the indication of the localization of brain tumors, pressure areas and other organic defects. More recent work has shown abnormal patterns with certain of the psycho-neuroses and investigators have, therefore, been prompted to extend the use of this technique toward the analysis of behavior problems in general and those associated with children's conduct in particular. The present paper is an investigation into this field. It calls attention to the extensive work done by Jasper and associates who were able to show that behavior problems of childhood had a 39% epileptiform pattern in the series studied; Strauss and his associates with 50% incidence of diffused cortical dysrhythmias and Lindsley and Cutts with findings which they have tended to interpret that there is disturbed cortical function found frequently enough to justify the theory that this may be an important factor in the causation of behavior disorders.

The author of this article made an analysis of a series of 28 cases appearing before the Court of Domestic Relations in New York City. A close analysis of this small series indicates that 61% of the brain patterns suggested an underlying dis-

order in brain function. Eleven of the series (39%) showed behavior disorders unassociated with organic or functional disorders and, therefore, it can be concluded that by far the greatest proportion of the group showed divergent brain patterns which might have been expected on the basis of organic and functional disorders. This is especially true of the large incidence of epileptics and epileptiform clinical pictures presented. To the reviewer then this group does not have any significance with respect to the application of the E. E. G. as a technique of the study of behavior problems in children without organic and functional defects. Of the eleven cases classified as behavior problems without defect 74% showed abnormal patterns. It is this particular group which deserves the closest scrutiny. Five cases in this group are cited briefly by the authors. The brain patterns in this group differed not only from those of the other cases in the series but showed wide variations among themselves. From the discussion of this extremely small series, it was impossible to conclude that there was any common pattern which could be assigned to behavior disorders unassociated with organic or functional disorders. Increased Alpha activity irregularly spread with high amplitude and a tendency toward bursts are the most common indications of deviation from the normal E. E. G. pattern. Low waves with a frequency of 3 to 5 per second with increased amplitude were also noted in several cases. In the organic and functional disorder groups the characteristic spike and slow wave pattern with considerable irregularity was the most frequent variant noted. In some instances the authors were able to make a diagnosis of epilepsy on the basis of the pattern where the disorder had not been evidenced by the usual clinical symptoms.

The authors have taken due recognition of the fact that children and even adolescents regularly exhibit an unusual number of slow waves and also that the abnormality tends to decrease gradually as age advances. Also it was recognized that patterns which in the adult would be considered abnormal would not be considered unusual in children. It was admitted that the series was small but the

findings seemed to agree with those of previous investigators. The conclusion reached by the authors was conservative; namely, that they were unable to make any correlation between the type of behavior and the E. E. G. pattern and that abnormality of pattern undoubtedly is shown in misbehavior types which do not clinically have functional or organic disorder. On the whole, in the light of our present knowledge it is better for therapeutic and diagnostic reasons to use the E. E. G. as a check and to work basically with children from the results of clinical findings rather than differentials in brain potentials.

V. C. B.

PREPSYCHOTIC PERSONALITY IN ALCOHOLIC PSYCHOSES. EUGENE DAVIDOFF, M.D. AND CARL A. WHITAKER, M.D. *Psychiatric Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, January, 1940.

This article was read before the upstate interhospital conference, Utica, New York, on April 28, 1939, and is a continuation of a study begun by Hoch and Davidoff in 1936, in which the prepsychotic personality estimates of 200 consecutive patients in a group of alcoholic psychoses were reviewed. The present study covers the addition of 97 recent consecutive admissions wherein alcohol was considered an etiological factor in the psychosis. It is quite well recognized that previous personality bears upon alcoholic states, and that there are certain defects in the chronic alcoholic. Nevertheless, as in all toxic and organic reaction types, the following situations must be considered in regard to the clinical picture or production of the alcoholic state:

1. Wherein the personality plays the most important role.
2. Wherein both alcohol and the personality are of relatively equal importance.
3. Wherein alcohol itself plays a relatively greater role as in some cases of pathological intoxication and acute alcoholism or in the social drinker.

4. Wherein a preexisting psychosis is present and where alcohol is superimposed or of minor significance as in schizophrenia, manic-depressive psychosis or general paresis. Here there is indication of a severe previous mental disorder and alcohol is more or less incidental, or at best merely a precipitating factor.

5. Wherein coexisting organic or toxic complications such as arteriosclerosis or pneumonia cloud the picture.

6. Wherein there is an idiosyncrasy to small doses of alcohol.

The cases studied were broken down into various classifications, including introverts and extraverts, and formulated in accordance with the predominating attitude of the individual in meeting life situations. The results as compiled in this table make an interesting study since it shows the relationship of the particular type of psychosis and the personality traits. Only 12 of the 97 cases were diagnosed as chronic alcoholics without psychosis.

The second table lists personality traits such as marital difficulties irritability, etc., and shows the etiological factors encountered in the life history of the 97 cases, these factors being listed in their order of frequency of occurrence. Heading this list is poor reaction to changes of state or simple adult maladjustment, of which 80 are listed under this heading. The smallest number on this list was 3, which shows deviations leading to overt homosexuality.

An interesting result of this study shows that the mechanisms in the psychoneurotic and the psychopathic drinker are closely allied. Alcohol provides a stimulus to escape boredom and feelings of guilt, and produces an unreal impetus to repressed, unutilized creative urges. Alcohol stupifies, allays the conflict, and aids in carrying them back to earlier periods of adaptation in their search to recapture the past. They often become wanderers or transients. It is to be understood, of course, that many of these traits occur in psychoneurotics or psychopaths who do not drink.

One particular type of psychopathic

drinker consistently denies the use of alcohol because of a superficial fear of community and social censure. He conceals his guilt conscience itself, and rationalizes this guilt. He frequently denies and forgets the results of an alcoholic debauch and insists he is well thought of in the community. A second type of psychopathic drinker attempts to blame his antisocial acts upon the use of alcohol. Alcohol in reality is merely an escape mechanism for his yielding to strong, unconscious urges, but he would rather be punished for the use of alcohol than have others aware of these urges which are predominant in his make-up. The first type deceives himself as well as society, whereas the second type deceives only society and is aware of the deeper set meaning of his inability to adjust. The psychopathic drinker is usually unstable or schizoid, whereas the psychoneurotic drinker is usually moody, depressive, anxious and compulsive.

The extraverted alcoholic drinks because situations in his environment become too hard to face and he attempts to shut out reality. Thus he attempts to escape his environmental situations or the dictates of the super-ego. However, the introverted drinkers indulge in alcohol because they attempt primarily to evade reality, seeking escape from the primitive cravings arising within himself. He seeks to escape his unconscious urges which are found unsatisfactory or unadaptable, but it is difficult for him to face the environmental forces in a natural manner, and it is therefore stated that alcohol may precipitate severe personality reactions in a person with predisposed psychoneurotic or psychopathic traits, or in a maladjusted schizoid or maladjusted extravert alcoholism may be a manifestation of the adaptation of that type of personality with an attempt on his part to escape or mask the tendencies. It cannot be denied, however, that excessive alcoholism may produce organic deterioration which may alter the personality pattern, particularly in poorly-integrated individuals who lack compensatory powers.

Twelve cases are presented which illustrate the various points discussed in the first part of the article. The article is summarized by showing that in the more

acute phases of alcoholic psychoses, the toxic factors apparently predominate, and that in the more protracted form, the introverted personalities seem to predominate. There appears to be a need for a subdivision in the group of alcoholic psychoses to be designated "alcoholic personality disorders." It is recognized that it is difficult to distinguish between psychotic, psychoneurotic or psychopathic individuals who drink and alcoholic individuals with severe personality disorders. Complicating organic factors as well as personality integration may influence the severity of the prognosis.

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INCIDENCE and SIGNIFICANCE OF ALCOHOLISM IN THE HISTORY OF CRIMINALS. M. GENEVA GRAY AND MERRILL MOORE. *American Journal of Psychiatry*. 98:347-353, Nov., 1941.

Social factors and heredity contribute to criminal causation. Little information is available on the extent of alcoholism among criminals. Only intelligent assistance on the part of prisoners can produce statistics on the extent of alcoholism among criminals. This study is of 2014 persons under the care of the Massachusetts Department of Correction between 1936 and 1939.

Two penal institutions are represented, the Massachusetts State Prison at Charlestown and the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women at Framingham. The factor of alcoholism was considered in either the subject or in his or her family. The State Prison totaled 1637 prisoners of whom 1086 (66.3%) were alcoholic and 551 or 33.7% were non-alcoholic. The racial distribution was about identical. The marital status was identical but the non-alcoholics had more unbroken marriages. Of the alcoholics, 68.6 per cent had alcoholic relatives. Of these, 62% had alcoholic parents, 26.1% had alcoholic siblings, 2.8% had alcoholic wives, and 9.1% had other alcoholic relatives. Among the

non-alcoholics 64.6% had alcoholic parents, 21.3% had alcoholic siblings, 1.3% had alcoholic wives and 12.6 had alcoholic relatives. Of the alcoholics, 652 (60%) had previously been incarcerated for that offense. The domestic relations of the non-alcoholics were more satisfactory than for the alcoholics. I. Q. groups included, 764 alcoholic cases reported of whom 52.5% were below 79, whereas, in 379 non-alcoholic cases only 30.9% were below 79. The prognosis for favorable adjustment after release was more favorable for the nonalcoholic (33.7%) than for the alcoholic (15.6%).

The records of 928 women prisoners at the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women showed: 458 (49.4%) were alcoholic, 470 (50.6%) disclaimed the use of alcohol. The racial distribution was equal for both groups. Foreign born women were three times as numerous among the alcoholics. The alcoholic women tended to be older than the non-married. The physical conditions for the two groups were practically identical. Venereal dis-

ease was most common among the non-alcoholics in the age range of 20-24, and among the Alcoholics from 25-29.

The alcoholic median I. Q. was 81 and 84 for the non-alcoholic. 50% of the alcoholics had been sentenced to the Reformatory because of drunkenness. 262 or 57.1% of the alcoholics had been previously arrested for drunkenness and 190 had come from broken or alcoholic homes, either their own or those of their parents.

Among the men, it is found that nativity, marital status, racial and religious distribution, age distribution, intelligence quotients and educational level, physical and economic status, and the incidence of venereal disease at the time of commitment are the same for both groups. The personal and familial backgrounds present differences. The data on the women prisoners were roughly comparable. Hence it does not appear that abstaining and alcoholic prisoners, either male or female, differ greatly.

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Book Reviews

Alone. BYRD, R. E. New York. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1938. pp. 296.

For the light it may throw on the ethical wisdom of Solitary Confinement and its ultimate effects on sanity, this document of human endurance and triumph over circumstance is worthy of careful attention by penologists. It is the authentic voice of a man rare above the average, who for months has gone through the experience of being *alone in the arctic night* and, at a cost, survived. From the implications given, the effects of physical exhaustion are as nothing compared with the mental effects entailed.

We are asked to watch, with almost laboratory detachment, the strange metamorphosis undergone by a simple mind, voluntarily segregated from its fellows; to examine its mode of reaction to all vicissitudes while retaining a precarious hold on sanity. This work crowds into 300 exciting pages the nightmare experience of what must have seemed a lifetime, relieved only by a constant optimism and self-assurance. It bears all the hall-marks of a straightforward narrative intended, we suspect, for individual mediation and reflection, rather than any piece of theatrical sensationalism, product of conceit or desire for the headlines. It seems almost an act of impiety to delve into it. Indeed the diary-notes on which it is based, have been heavily curtailed and deleted, and what is left is all too brief for an accurate appraisal of the effects of the experience suffered by the author.

Much was of such personal and familial nature that full publication was out of the question. Indeed he delayed and debated for four years before deferring to the wishes of friends, to make his intimate thoughts known. The effect is instantaneous and profound, very similar to that produced by the comparable reflections of another intrepid explorer of the self-same stamp—Lawrence of Arabia.

It may not be pertinent to examine too closely the motives that drive men into the vast solitudes, into depths and

heights of the Inaccessible, to suffer the acme of punishment and pain. Is it from imagination or the lack of it, discipline or the lack of it, sensitiveness or the lack of it? How far does the reality experience cater for certain tensions unrelieved by mental subterfuge and compromise? How far must the Soul travel to discover itself? This work is eloquently reserved on such points.

The results of complete segregation and silence from which there is no escape, on the more responsive mind, are a function of its own adaptability and general texture. They are indeed damaging, but the power of recuperation and the mode of reaction mobilises something peculiar to that individual. It is thus unlikely that the hardened criminal will respond in isolation identically with the author. His psyche in punishment and suffering undergoes the same experience, but without the redeeming features of the writing of a diary (or classic) without the radio contact with his fellows and the whole business of living to give it meaning. He has not even the comfort of verbalisation of inchoate anxieties and bizarre fears.

The more the mind approaches its primal helplessness, its sense of rejection and utter blankness, the more these primitive mechanisms will be aroused, and it is but a small distance to psychosis.

In this instance, the combined effects of low temperature and carbon monoxide absorption low spirits, and a certain innate hypochondriacal tendency served to induce in a desensitized temperament a decidedly pathological response (almost schizoid in nature). Although the narrative conveys much evidence of a predisposition toward introversion and internalisation of pain, sensitivity to aesthetic appeal and exquisiteness of feeling and experience, we may sense in this very fact the repressed sadism underlying it whence the outward sublimation in research, respect for scientific honesty and the peculiarities of style, etc. His sensitivity finds expression in precocity of literary form and diction, in the balance of words and rarity

of phrasing, the aptness of metaphor and the power of evocation, all more properly belonging to the language of (say) Poe in "Pit and Pendulum" or of Col. Lawrence in "Revolt in the Desert"; i. e., that style of self-expression more significant for anal erotism.

It is written in a subdued tone that gives dignity to the author's choice presentation. What makes this work almost epic in sublimity is the glimpses it gives of the *cosmic identification* with which his mind sought release and of the meaning to be attached to such moments of experience in the life of the solitary isolate. The ordinary rules applying to psychotic manifestation must be waived here; yet the hallucinations and the doubts, the bizarrery and verbiage the evidences of the realization and deification are all markedly suggestive. It is only by extensive quotation that one can do justice to this contention that a schizoid reaction was precipitated in this subject by his harrowing experiences.

The author divides his work into six parts reflecting the critical moments or months of his time aptly called the Struggle, the Blow, the God of 2-5, the Searchlight, the Flight, etc. Insight deepens as the experience grows, but the preoccupation with self dulls the edge of its own introspection while the mind becomes numbed and the spirit flags in the latter weeks. Yet we are spared the inhuman hurt and sense of conflict, and are left to marvel at the triumph of the psyche, rather than dwell long on its ineffectual and intolerable struggles with its own futility. His rallying-point is himself the Leader, and (on occasion) the Family: "... , harbour where a man's ships can be left to swing to the moorings of pride and loyalty." (p. 179). As a documentary of the last degrees of disintegration, the diary in its form of self-communion (and revelation) would not justify perusal were it not for the side-light it sheds on the ultimate in human thought and identification.

Thus we are given intimate details for a study of sublimation in leadership and of private self-negation, all material for analytic deduction which a reader should spare himself. The choice of vital entertainment is to be noted for the rugged in-

dividuality displayed. We find Marquand's *Lord Timothy Dexter* with Ludwig's *Napoleon*; Ben William's *All the Brothers Were Valiant* with Moore's *Meloise and Abelard*; the "House of Exile" with *In a Monastery Garden* (for phonograph) yet all bespeak the same "strong man . . . he who stands most alone" and whose dreams were of "strange unfriendly faces crowding in" from the night. Just as his warfare with brothers in childhood was carried to the pitch of extreme realism, so his walks in solitude then went to the extent of extreme phantasy.

The euphony of style is punctuated with such quaint and unusual words as *stenthic triest*, *scrunch*, *teetering*, *whoosh*, *virescent*, *preachments*, *satrugi*, *pinged*, *gee*, *parka*, *hoosh*, etc. Williamson could go no further. He outlines his philosophy and creed but seems to reserve his flights of metaphor for the ever-present Aurora "... gauzy vapor . . . the trembling movements somehow suggestively feminine," etc. etc. Of his 40 companions, we learn 30 were bachelors. His simile often has all the tang of the sea. "If 'name is destiny' this flight of the dicky-bird is indeed unconsciously ordained. Finally he gives us some insight into the mind that gives up everything for Discovery, unconsciously impelled to some great Search alone. Thus he speaks of:

(a) his Fear Emerging . . . "Some negative subconscious emotion . . my dark woods . . I am despondent again . . at the mercy of something from which there was no lasting escape" . . in the direction of uninterrupted disintegration that is . . everlasting peace.

(b) his Introversion . . "my world insulated against shocks . . betray the conditions I was trying to hide . . a pattern endlessly repeating . . wanted no one to look over the wall. . ."

(c) his Cosmic Identification 'with Vast Movements'; he is *at one* with his recording instruments, the vast geography and the vaster history of the great Antarctic 'once the semi-tropical continent'; whilst projection extrajection repudiation mechanism have their place . . "the precision and order of the Universe . . like the hands of a clock . . moving according to some plan" . . . I slipped back hundreds of years . . timelessness gets in-

to the bunk with me at night . . . a gallant unselfish act was of the same essence as the . . . fifth symphony . . . and the Aurora" . . . for centuries I could see nothing but everlasting ice" . . .

(d) his Adversaries . . . "snow (as) ten million ghosts ramming their thumbs into my eyes . . . the morbid countenance of the ice-age" . . . "a malevolent rush upon you as upon a personal enemy . . . the weight of the solar system cut into my shoulders."

(e) his Depersonalization . . . "the illusion of being a thin flame drawn between two voids . . . like knowing in advance you would be reborn again without the intermediate obliteration of death . . . a doomed man pacing the cell in the hope of an eleventh hour reprieve" . . . (Here is the essence of Solitary Confinement).

"You can't go on" the querulous small voice within me insisted." . . . but otherwise "with me would vanish the ephemeral tensions that held a hundred men to a single cause" . . . I . . . like a spectator at a play." If these things indeed betray the sorry mind of one who knew "the ultimate meaning of loneliness" what of the lesser prepared criminal mind working in its own isolation?

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Goals and Desires of Man—A Psychological Survey of Life. PAUL SCHILDER, Columbia University Press, New York. 1942, 305 pp., price \$4.00.

Schilder's urbanity of thought and catholicity of taste is nowhere better illustrated than in the present volume, comprising his last survey of life (1940), published at the instance of a Memorial Committee of some of his closest followers. It is at once a philosophy and a confession, a metaphysic and a psychic causerie. Schilder lit upon nothing that he did not illuminate, and the range of his clinical grasp and the fertility of his ideas was extraordinary. This is seen in the variety of topics herein discussed, such as Morals,

Ideologies, Religion and Property, Sado-masochism, Homosexuality, Narcissism and Social Relations, also Aggression and Attitudes toward Death—all disposed over 26 chapters of unvarying fine insight and incisiveness. The reading is smooth and persuasive. It is a model of economic condensation.

The central contribution is tacitly the play of aggression in human destiny (Chap. VII) and the significance of Death in social destiny (Chap. XII). The biological principle underlying these in a psychic world (for Schilder) devoid of determinism, is also analyzed. The presentation is tentative and always permits an escape from too dogmatic or too depressing a conclusion. Its approach is plainly that of a monist believing in free will and psychic accident, but whose intellectual anticipation often precludes a more affective grasp of principle. His keen and unwavering optimism guides him lightly over moments of self-dubity, subjective applicability or sadistic identification with its theme. The canvass is a broad one, now lightly sketched over in suggestive outline, now daubed on mercilessly, even caricatured, in a vast survey of man's goals and desires in life. In places his work challenges comparison with Jung's "Modern Man in Search of a Soul," but it lacks the forbearance and insight, the philosophic understanding and calm of the latter work, (the 6 indexed references are but lip service from his naiveté). Rather is this thesis searching for its own philosophy, and "internal evidence" makes abundantly plain the particular shortcomings with which it contends, and the forces realized (or rationalized) in their pursuit via a study of others. It is an intensely vain rather reckless study, almost humorless and without anecdote, except in certain unfortunate accidents of style, as when it is "necessary to attend to detail . . . to trace a biscuit from Lisbon into the men's mouths on the frontier, providing for its removal by land or by water," etc., or again ". . . women are allowed to express their wish for power in aggressive words such as nagging, which opportunity they use rather freely." The case histories sufficiently interspersed, however, affect the more casual manner. Only the tiresome self-reference, self-quotation and self-

bracketing with the distinguished, betray the pettiness of genius.

It is manifest from the start that Schilder's concept of aggression differs from that of classic usage. The Goals and Desires which he seeks are but synonyms for the Aggressions and Death themes of which he treats. It is possible that this is personally motivated, to the extent that much of the thesis represents a casuistic escape from the implications of a sado-necrophilia and diverse sexuality thereto related, a feared aggression from the female penis. The marked ambivalence and curious inconsistency with which the presentation is marred, is relieved by moments of real insight. The text seems a loosely knit series of essays (from 1936 to 1940) indicating his developing outlook, and nowhere is "the Enigma that was Schilder" better in evidence. A basic consistent theme runs through the whole. His equating of death and sadism with love and sex and both with *integrates of damaged imagos* appears to form the knot on which the problem hangs, and the unraveling satisfies himself on rational grounds. The work bears all the signs of an eloquent haste and dynamic urgency, a keen sensibility yet sweeping optimism and characteristic profusion of ideas with which to state his contentions and conclusions. Bound up with this is the genuine desire to accommodate (incorporate) all views and the inability to accept (assimilate) many; always with the play of infantile aggressiveness round those orifices that somehow formed a persistent barrier to real self-understanding. All in all, it betrays the swift intuitions and the subtle comprehensions of a trained mind, the refreshing originality and grave enthusiasm of a volatile spirit throwing off undisciplined ideas for the discomfiture of less astute minds. He puts up psychic skittles only to knock them down again; indeed his misreading or detraction of the work and merit of others is unfortunate and "... contradictory tendencies exist to bring this other being into subservient relation."

Essentially a neurologist, it is on this he must be appraised. His untiring reference to the Body integrity and Body Unity (inherent in the *image* of the human body) becomes meaningful for the first

time in this context, simply as incorporated, undamaged parental imagos. To this reviewer, the thesis admits to a strong fear of dismemberment while repudiating castration dread; it places accent on restitution and construction while minimizing death and aggression. It evidences an insistent desire to justify ambi-sexuality while denying its own ambivalence. Thus, he endeavors to prove that the goal of man is not death but life, it is man's for the taking; it is a willing extraversion that finds no fear in the reassurance of its objects, and wherein desire is not satiate but constantly renewed. The ambivalence involves him in a discussion of aggression "topics of death, crime, sickness, war and any sort of violence" as meaning love and not hate, construction and not destruction, energy (infliction) and not passivity (suffering). In his quieter moments, however, he indicates that aggression means to him sexual seductiveness from above, a *smothering* love from those who use the child as a neurotic plaything, a toy for their illicit desire. Aggression includes life activity; daily work with its repeated assaults on an extreme medium, also dismembering and death-dealing. It embraces all life (of which it is a component) as "these things cannot be artificially separated." It is not simply "life fused with the erotic instinct. Indeed, "the two opposites do not exist," but rather "the picture of another human being may be split in two." This attitude is disconcerting and finds further evidence in his address to the masculinity-femininity problem. (Ch. XXI).

It is difficult to determine why Schilder views the goal of man as but a temporary accommodation momentarily satisfying his stronger extravertive needs, and Desire as the inner signal for release of those tensions that, on being dissipated, call for ever renewed surgency and satisfaction rather than rest and ease (entropy) unless this be the very language of the child frustrated at the breast. The inspiration of the whole work is given on page 16; "... to be directed towards the goal, to have the tension of desire gives the experience of being alive which is as important as the final satisfaction," (presumably of being dead). Much of the thesis is then taken up with examination of the

death fear, repudiation of a death instinct and concession to a death wish as a relief from a death threat, but the *Todesangst* remains. Indeed, the identifying of the sex act with the death act, and both with aggression, underlies most of the argument here, which a species of intellectualization attempts to cloud.

The high spot or the objective side of these studies, was the giving of a series of suggestive pictures (of ghosts, skeletons and murder) to children; also a series of unusual questions on death (as affecting self and others) and finally the interrogation of a murderer. This approximates to scientific exactitude in a wealth of speculation which includes case studies and historic surveys; also the philosopher's and neurotic's ideas on the same subject.

Aggression is here successively reviewed as power, as pain and as work. This leads logically to the discussion of sex issues, narcissism, ideologies and morals. Whilst Pavlov is quoted in connection with pain, we find no reference to Coriat's invaluable relating of Pavlovian and analytic concepts. There is an appreciation of moral issues yet no reference to J. Hadfield, while the study of the obsessional actress (p. 139) would have been illuminated by Flugel's work. Indeed, the contribution of English analysts have been significantly glossed over (his 8 pp. bibliography reflects his interest directives), with the exception of Susan Isaacs and Melanie Klein, and scant justice is done to Henry's work on homosexuality in this country. But this book is primarily intended for the intelligent layman and not for the technical expert.

The chapter on Infantile Sexuality, in many ways the most readable and most most revealing, is prefaced by a passage of "special pleading" for the essential bisexuality of all humanity, based on desiderata in lower organisms. "Reduction is the basic fact of sex" and man "has the urge for completion" yet it is something "other than reproduction and growth." The concept of muscle erotism would sufficiently explain his contention that "the muscular movement" of life is exciting in itself and directed towards a goal, non-sexual in aim. He feels that love and constructivity are stronger than hate and destruction; that such reality processes as

food intake do not savor of cannibalism, sadism or oral severity as freudians might claim. "There is no difference in masculine and feminine thinking." (p. 192) He nicely illustrates his thesis with the part played by women in coitus (p. 151). He concedes an element of sadism in infant play.

In deference to his theory of body integrity, he relates fear of dismembering with the "positive aspect of all striving," for the life urge is designed to accrete to the "body image." His theory of "partial desires" concedes to every part an erotic satisfaction of its own, and gifts even the adult with an equal peripheralisation of polymorph libido. It reads rather like the protest of the "tail against the amputation of the dog," and is suggestive of penis identification with a *body* wholly libidized (whence his further theory of Body Image was constructed). e. g., "Body is more than an annex to the sex part;" or birth less than a trauma to the child "from whom the mother's body is taken away" . . . or "we even speak of gastrointestinal castration," while the institution of property is "adding to one's own body image."

The author finds it hard to conceive of an undifferentiated self-mother subjective experience. Thus he stresses the need for an *external* world as real to the child and conceptually *different from it*, as are the parents from the very first . . . "It must surely direct its urine and feces to somebody outside" and "its powerful motor apparatus is surely toward the world," for "its needs to *do something* in the world are enormous." Again, ". . . the child wants the world to exist and its love-objects to be in it;" ergo it exists. His comments on body holes and prominences in connection with aggression also make suggestive reading.

Emphasis on feminine attitudes makes him consider with Karen Horney that woman is not so passive or masochistic as ideologies claim. He minimizes female castration complex, substituting "pride in the receptivity organ and caves of the body." He warns against accepting conclusions from childhood by the difficulty inherent play technique and interpretation, when neither memory nor re-enactment from the pre-verbal stages can suffi-

ciently distinguish phantasy from reality. Especially are oral sadism and oral aggression much over-rated as root developments. He wants love to triumph over the *Todesangst*, and it requires the synopsis study of a Charlotte Brontë, Morgan and Wellington (incorporated in the chapter "Work") to weave together the triple theme on which this philosophic discourse is ultimately based. Thirty-two aphoristic opinions sum up his conclusions.

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Mind: Perception and Thought in Their Constructive Aspects. PAUL SCHILDER.
Columbia University Press, New York,
1942. pp. 432, price \$5.00.

This work is a companion volume to the "*Goals and Desires of Man*" (also published by the Memorial Committee) and wherein is reflected Schilder the sociologist. This contribution ranks him among the psychologists and makes for interesting comparisons. It is, in this instance, heartening to discover Schilder fundamentally the neurologist breaking new ground in the arid field of academic psychology; and whether as a "Saul among the prophets" or a "Daniel come to judge," finding new things to say and old things to criticize that make the scholastic approach seem small by contrast. Perception and thought were once the play-things of the 'brass-instrument period' of psychology and of the age of 'conditionings,' introspection and gestalt, to all of which the author makes due concession. The idea that Deiter's nucleus or hyperpietic storm, hashish or aphasia might still throw some light on the Mind, was apt to be forgotten by a generation led afield with the dynamic re-orientations of Freud. But here Mind turns up again, as a neurological concept—a rabbit from the hat of a clinical wizard, confounding the philosophies and psychologies alike, with a curious agreement with

them all, while utilizing their stage-props to their own discomfiture. It is in the brain after all! We are, however, taken upon an elaborate detour, involving a complete review of the past reflections of Schilder's formative years, with articles from 20 years back indicating his well-known views on sensation; sensations of movement and tension, determining (and being determined by) thought, posture and balance, time and space, geometry and physics (pre-Einstein), semantics and reason, before we are brought back to the conclusion that constructive thought is nigh to the heart (or where Hausman said it was).

The two sections into which his thesis falls, on Perception and on the Higher Mental Functions, permit an ever-expanding survey of the pain-pleasure principle in life, presented, as if by chance, roughly in the order of its unconscious evolution and in the order of rediscovered gratifications of infancy. He may use other terms but is ever "in search of primitive experience." He ranges from pressure on the eyeballs to smells at the breast, sound of lullabies to zones of erotogenic stimulus, anal ejection (elementary time-space pre-occupation) to the rocking phase, and kicking and jerking; through greed and grasp (physical and mental), up to movement in erect stature and the final establishment of a lasting new *equilibrium*. These topics form separate heads of investigation and discussion, but without seemingly throwing much additional light on mental functioning as such or strengthening the position with regard to the nature of man's Unconscious. For the scientific elaboration of the aforementioned protopathic recalls reconstructed by means of artifact (of laboratory or clinical origin), constitutes the whole of Part 1. They do serve, however, to emphasize the primordial nature of visual experience in particular and the significance this has to the Unconscious. Schilder lays great emphasis throughout on the pictorial aspect of Life and Vision.

Thus the logical outcome of visual motion in optic imaginings (aura, etc.), and of both in optic perceptions (eidetiker, hallucinations, etc.) covers four chap-

ters of close reasoning. He goes on to give illuminating instance of the creation of gestalts and the significance to psychology of an external world realized largely by a species of projection from the "body image." This is to prepare us for his acceptance of a sensate experience by virtue of some inner primitive anticipation, effect of tonus and autonomic tension, tactile groping and vestibular registration, most of which (pre-natal one might claim) being ultimately bound up in the play of *instinct* around certain orifices—a theme to which Schilder returns repeatedly. . . . "The sadistic annihilation of space" (p. 199) or ". . . the body image continually creates a new space equilibrium around itself" (p. 234) for . . . "an object is the crossing point of many worlds, of physics, practical and moral values" etc. This discussion on Perception paves the way for Part II with its cognate themes of Time and Memory, Thought and Consciousness, Physics and Experience. The resultant tempering of a critique of reason, with neurologic estimates of its pathological substrata, does make one question the propriety of an informative and *constructive* psychology built on observation of delirious and intoxicants. It is essentially the neurologist, not the philosopher, who claims a hearing here.

It is difficult to follow his argument for the functioning of mind in this framework. How far do specific drugs like mescaline, act by virtue of the psychic release they induce—a reviving of protopathic infantile pregenital sensation and phantasy as this reviewer would claim, (and comparable to the deepest layers in dream analysis), and how far by their vigorous stimulus-value to sensory components within the organism, which the *now* personality interprets in the only "language" it knows? Pressure on the globus. strong sunlight or a blow on the head may produce similar involved hallucinations. It is the interpretation placed on these primitive amorphous perceptual qualities, and the meanings the present ego cares to impute to its objects, that is one of the functions of mind and hence of imagination.

We have no knowledge that any drug acts on the psychic systems. Schilder recalls the phenomena of observed lines, circles and ordered patterns, ideas of motion,

even syntheses of sense by appropriate stimuli, but these designs merely match the tissue formations which sensory terminals subserve, giving Man in a very real sense a vision of his own eye. But constructive visual imagination is not a function of such artifices; although Da Vinci and others have for centuries utilized their aid, and imagination may be enhanced thereby. Scotomata throw no light on dream imaginings or poetic imagery, though the visualist will surely exploit his visual (scotophilic) dominance. Schilder refers especially to the introjection phenomenon that 'Movement in the field' is sometimes answered by 'motion within,' the impression can be *modified* by vestibular, optic or imaginative stimulus. We claim that the theory of such unconscious mechanisms as projection and sexualization of thought and identification may cause us to dispense with eidetics, drug hallucinosis or vestibular sensation as being necessarily explanatory. We know also that imagination forcefully functions, it secondarily *induces* heightened petic, vestibular or other changes; as evidenced in the phenomena reported on waking from a nightmare, or in forced unpleasure thinking.

His conception of time becomes involved in word usage, a product of an equal "hiding place for unanalyzed symbolic expectations," but the space concept for psychology (the most constant and significant of all Schilder's contributions) received careful attention. This subject and its treatment by him is always fascinating and arresting in its appeal, e. g., the three orders of space.

His brazen contribution on the relation of the vestibular apparatus to the psychic sphere, touches on the vexed question of hallucinations and their influence on, or from, vestibular sources; and Schilder subscribes to earlier views as to lesions initiating perceptual changes and so affecting consciousness. He regards the vestibule as coordinator of all the special senses, but concedes that changes in the psyche can affect tonus, etc. "What is outside of consciousness influences the vegetative sphere," as does also the labyrinth, which thus comes to lie midway between

two systems, subserving the idiotropic and orthotropic functions of the organism (Spitzer). In disease, the planes, angles, and size of objects, also their space and time relationships may suffer awkward jolts, as quoted dreams of his neurologic patients show; but we must remember that the normal and neurotic may show *identical* displacements without vestibular involvement.

He postulates three orders of space; that occupied by the body, outside space and the body spaces and the interaction of these three determine the perceptual universe for that individual. By instancing (Chap. XII) cases of obsession with space disruption, he shows how speed and space correlate in the "pathic space experience," and how attitudes may depend on the play of instinctual aggression (*momentum*) towards the object, without reference to the nervous system. Thus, some fascinating ideas on the geography of space in the light of projection mechanism, are opened up by this symbolization. From this work the Body Image concept gains added rebuttal or support.

Perhaps a thesis of this dimension demands an understanding of the order of assimilative developments in the mind of its author. We sense the progress from Kant to gestalt, psycho-somatology to group analysis, drug delirium to epiphenomenology, for these are easy stages in Schilder's mental stride. Yet each contributed its significant quota to a perspective as broad as it was embrasive. By some strange quality of mental transmuting and re-alignment or of a readier elasticity of perception, his system was able to include the most incongruous elements under one head, and even subsume a common denominator. This refreshing and astute mind that first determined the diffuse degeneration of axons, could comprehend murder and gravity, masochism and infant trends, memory and consciousness almost by a constant formula of his own; by a scheme of reference to an impressive background of meaning that could find common cause in a new concept of self-insight—something synonomous and coincident with his Body Image.

In his later thesis, he rather lifts this concept from the realms of neurology into that of pure speculation. How else can "the end of an action mean a new equilibrium of the body image also a new orientation in space and morals; how else can "physiologic impulses of tonic, rhythmic and phasic character in close relation to the formation of the object, determine space in its properties and the dynamic relation of the body image to space"? The image has become the "original narcissistic investment of the Ego," so that we have "to study the psychology of the body image" (p. 337) and the "investment given to different parts of the body image with reactions of others to our body." Such concept provides a new framework of social reference.

We must concede that this exceptional elaboration of interwoven physical sensations (from within and without, integrated by virtue of a common denominator in mind and nervous system which he calls the Image) allows the products of the Ego to add their unique contribution to understanding through a *constant dynamic replacement*, and in response to the changing social situations in life. This suggests another aspect of consciousness, a function of memory and though that must be comprehended in symbols (albeit pre-lingual), in which the primitive ophthalmic or other impression gains the dominance (to a visualiser). Mind's constructed unity is capable of disintegration into its primordial functions again by an ego regression or ego dissociation, seen alike in drug addiction, psychosis and the rarer conditions that the neurologist may review. This is his essential contribution to the body-mind problem. A bibliography of some 450 references to the pertinent literature follows.

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Training for Skill in Social Case Work.
VIRGINIA P. ROBINSON. University of
Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. 126 pp.
1942.

Into this slender volume of scarcely 130 pages is crammed the philosophy of a lifetime in social case work in the sense understood by the Pennsylvania School. There are gathered together the individual viewpoints of five leading social workers working under a common inspiration and galvanized by Prof. Robinson's own dynamic personality whose influence is felt throughout. The shift from a concept of Social Service to one of social study and finally down to social work indicates the trend of its resources.

This work differs from others in the field in its frank attempt to understand itself from within, to keep constant check on its own evolution and the effects of interaction with others and in its conscious exploitation of identification mechanics in dealing with problems from without. Nothing in the student's life is overlooked that can be pressed into service for the client's welfare and vice versa. The thesis loses no time in explaining the special meaning it has for Service and Skill, Function and Movement also Process in its handling of human material, though there are times when an almost mystic import seemingly attaching to each of these concepts becomes lost in its further pursuit, as of some airy abstraction that a patient yogi is bidden to ponder over and comprehend. There is little doubt that the bio-philosophy which underlies this singular attempt to give dignity and understanding and help to the tangled skein woven by a struggling humanity, is based as sound principles inherent in an academic method that takes rise in the developed outlook of Otto Rank "a dynamic, present swiftmoving experience" that never permits itself to be divorced from the activities it surveys and the reactions it brings about. This interplay of forces, social forces, client and agency forces, forces at work within the student herself makes for a common harmony of function by virtue of the intuitive understanding of needs and processes, valencies and structuralizations inherent in the particular setup. At

no point does the author pause to inquire if a masterly inactivity in a situation would not have produced the same or better results "a negative aspect that releases the client to the possibility of something positive;" the machinery is there to be set in motion and stolid in its own optimism grinds out its functional results. True, on occasion it doubts itself and there is an amusing instance of this projection-identification approach on which it prides itself running amok. Thus when a department was being re-located and procedures and policy changed or destroyed, two of the student group behaved in sympathy, cleared out its own mental content, scrapped its stodgier methods and was in a stage of complete revolution when a guiding supervisor called a halt! The transference to teacher-adviser and to client is an enlivening factor. Just how far the student's complexes and familial constellations can become involved in these social endeavors is not pursued, though there is some perfunctory reference to the need for self-analysis. The training process indicates that the whole movement is in the direction of *self-release in service* and that professional skill ably applied is a function of the individual at one with his chosen medium, a skill that outweighs any lack of administrative and business experience' on his part.

The Personality is thus the object of considerable attention throughout the training period, indeed. "The development of the instinctive life of the individual" is its psychology course or inherent in the function of its "personality course." This "profound aganic learning experience" of directing impersonal help without becoming involved in a total situation or satisfying an emotional need continues till he is weaned from his class and has become an independent whole.

The agency becomes by identification such a unit involved in the needs of the society it caters for, as does the worker with the needs of clients. They must interact. It is constantly forging pseudopodia or instruments sufficiently sensitive to the changing attitudes and expectations of the community. Can mass relief ever become individual therapy. This is its fun-

damental role in service acting as a sustaining medium for the worker with a releasing function toward the client and engaged in tireless analysis of its methods and reactions in space.

The class work is throughout intelligently related to field study and the functional unity is secured by teachers co-ordinating theory and practise which carries over to student reaction, reflected back in new procedures and new outlooks.

This resolving of difficulties, this bridging of the gap between the two constitutes its finest discipline for here the student's own progress comes into relief and into review.

Supervision of the advanced work by direct and indirect control and by adviser service tends to enhance and guide the

"patterns of Growth" that the 2-year training is designed to achieve. It is an elastic experiment that involves the worker in an elaborate and by no means rigid set-up, directed to society and agency as they are constituted and leaving him a free-agent ultimately to operate between the two and under the aegis of both. It is only for the purposes of artificial dissection of his true function that he is viewed as a thing apart, experiencing and interacting amid social phenomena he may not directly control but only change to an effective outcome. Such skill is a 'function' of his own mental growth.

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